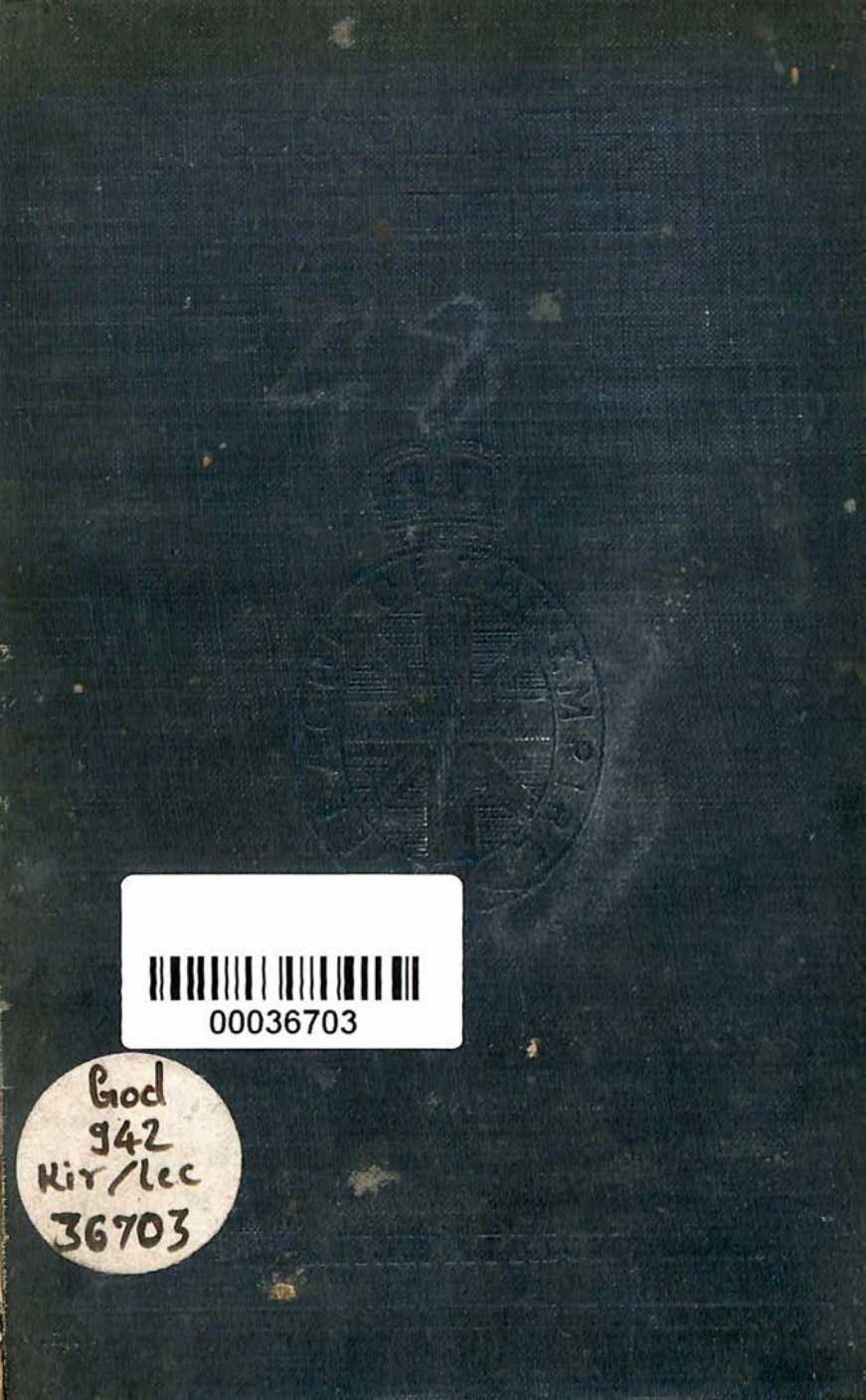
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COLONIZATION AND EMPIRE

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LECTURES ON
BRITISH COLONIZATION AND EMPIRE

FIRST SERIES (1600-1783)

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PREFACE

THIS little book, compiled from the most familiar and accessible materials, represents the first part of a design formed by the League of the Empire, whereby it is hoped to provide by means of illustrated lectures a historical outline of the growth of the British Empire. Experience proves that lectures illustrated by lantern-slides serve as an effective introduction to the study of history. But means and opportunity for this method are not everywhere available. This design is an attempt to supply the want by providing both a series of lectures arranged in historical sequence and also sets of slides illustrating them. The difficulties and drawbacks of such a scheme are obvious, but it is believed that its uses will outweigh these drawbacks. The limitations of length and of scope—each lecture to be adapted for pictorial illustration and for public delivery within the space of one hour—impose strict conditions of compression and selection, and leave little room for ornament or detail. Those who desire more may easily find means of satisfying their wholesome thirst.

Some may regret that these six lectures do not carry the story down to our own generation; but it has been found necessary to divide the scheme into

two parts, and it is hoped that a second series of lectures will soon be published, dealing with modern developments.

The design is in some degree a novel experiment, and, like every experiment, it is open to various criticisms. These criticisms may be partly met by some notes on the intention of the work, and on the proposed methods of using it:

1. The lectures have been so written that they may be delivered word for word by any educated person possessing a good voice and some sympathy with his audience. But they need not necessarily be so delivered; lecturers who are qualified by historical knowledge and by previous experience may prefer to modify and adapt the subject-matter, so as to infuse greater freshness and personal interest.

2. It has been thought better not to interrupt the historical narrative by continual reference to the slides. The mode in which these pictures shall be mentioned may be left to the discretion of the lecturer. Many slides require no special mention, being sufficiently explained by the lectures. Where circumstances permit, especially in schools, it may be advisable first to show the slides rapidly, merely naming their subjects without delivering the lecture, and then to show them a second time, accompanied by the lecture. A list of the slides appears at the beginning of the book, and corresponding numbers are inserted in the text of the lectures to show where the slides should be changed in the lantern.

3. Although the lectures are specially designed for pictorial illustration, such illustration is not indispensable. Good wall-maps may supply its place.

It may be repeated that no rigid mode of use can be prescribed; the scheme rather aims at a convenient elasticity. This is not a text-book to be blindly followed; it is merely meant to be a suggestive sketch, which may help to direct those who use it with judgment and sympathy.

F. A. K.

INTRODUCTION

THE two series of lectures on "Empire-Builders" and "Colonization and Empire" are the literary first-fruits of the League of the Empire.

Assuredly these spirited and lucid lectures require no word of explanation or apology; but I have been asked, as a member of the League's History Section, to give a few words of introduction.

The time is, happily, past when it was still necessary to deplore the general indifference respecting Colonial history; but the League of the Empire is doubtless right in insisting that a bird's-eye view of the general subject should precede, at an impressionable age, the more detailed study of after-years.

The lectures in their printed form are full of interest, but it is evident that their effectiveness will be greatly enhanced by delivery in public, and still more by the free employment of suitable slides.

On the subject of them little need here be said. Mr. Stride has no doubt exercised a wise judgment in choosing for his first Empire-Builder Alfred the Great. It may be added that if subsequent English statesmen had been imbued with the spirit of Alfred, the Imperial Unity, which in various ways we are now (more or less ineffectually) endeavouring to bring

about, might never have been lost, and the expansion of England might have taken the natural, healthy form of that of Wessex.

It will illustrate the richness of our history in Empire-Builders if we reflect that, of the six names commemorated by Mr. Stride, only that of Clive occurs in another series of builders of Greater Britain. Speaking in a literal sense, the title of Empire-Builder is hardly applicable to Drake, Wolfe, Hawke, and Cook; but, as is explained in the text, they did work without which the building of the Empire must have remained impossible.

The series on "Colonization and Empire" deals with material more difficult to make interesting than are the lives of great men. Those who have studied the history will best realize the difficulty of covering so wide a ground in six short lectures. Within such limitations, the aim of the lecturer must be that his listener or reader should go away with an appetite whetted for further teaching. I have little doubt that these lectures of Mr. Kirkpatrick have had this stimulating effect in the past, and will continue to have it in the future.

The educational work of the League of the Empire is still in its infancy; but in these lectures it is seen to be advancing steadily and on safe lines.

HUGH E. EGERTON.

OXFORD,
SEPTEMBER, 1906.

LIST OF SLIDES

These slides may be purchased or hired from the League of the Empire, Caxton Hall, Victoria Street, London, S.W.]

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6. View of Venice.
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* These maps are reproduced, by kind permission of Messrs. Macmillan, from the *History of European Colonies*, by E. J. Payne. Lecturers using these slides are requested to mention the fact.

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4. Captain John Smith.
5. Pocahontas saves Smith's Life.
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8. London from the River.
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18. Puritans before James I.
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* Lecturers using slides are requested to state that these maps (Nos. 3, 20, and 28) have been reproduced by kind permission of Messrs. Appleton from *The Beginners of a Nation*, by Edward Eggleston.

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14. Capitol at Washington.
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* Lecturers are requested to state that this map is reproduced, by kind permission of Messrs. Macmillan, from the *History of European Colonies*, by E. J. Payne.

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* Lecturers are requested to state that these maps of India (Nos. 37, 44, 45, and 46) are reproduced, by kind permission of Mr. John Murray, from *English Colonization and Empire*, by A. Caldecott.

The numbers inserted in brackets in the text refer to the list of slides on pp. xiii — xvi.

COLONIZATION AND EMPIRE

LECTURE I

THE BEGINNING OF MODERN COLONIZATION

THE subject of these lectures is shown by this map (1) —the growth of the British Empire. The map, in fact, shows the conclusion of the matter, the end of our story; but the best beginning is a glance at the end, in order that we may see what lies before us.

You notice that the large countries which are the main divisions of the British Empire are far distant from Great Britain, and separated by wide oceans and continents. This indicates what is the meaning of modern colonization, as distinct from earlier movements of a somewhat different nature. It means the overflow of European population into other continents (2). In a sense, Christopher Columbus may be regarded as the pioneer of all modern colonization, for that movement springs from geographical discovery. Down to the fifteenth century our ancestors were confined to this little Europe, and knew nothing of empty or half-empty countries inviting their occupation beyond the seas. Modern colonization and empire means the spread of Europe over the world; and until more of the world was known, that movement could not begin.

Accordingly, we should get an incomplete and mistaken view, if we began with the British part of that movement; for the English were not the first in the field: they really entered the race a century after their predecessors; for whereas the British movement only begins to take form after the year 1600, the Portuguese were settling in Africa and Asia, and the Spaniards were settling in America before 1500 (3).

Thus the modern expansion of Europe begins in the fifteenth century, and has its roots in two great events. One of these events was the discovery of the sea-route round South Africa to India and the East Indies by the Portuguese; the other was the discovery of the New World by the Spaniards.

Colonization, then, springs from geographical discovery; but discovery in its turn springs from commerce. This second statement requires explanation. The motive which led the Portuguese to grope their way round Africa, and the motive which led Columbus to embark westwards across the Atlantic, were the same. They were both searching for a sea-road to China, to India, and more especially to the Spice Islands, or East Indian Islands—not with a view to colonization, but with a view to trade (4). For many centuries the commodities of the East—jewels and precious stuffs, embroideries and carpets, but especially spices, pepper, cloves, cinnamon, and nutmeg—had been conveyed to Europe, partly by different routes across the Asiatic continent, partly by way of Egypt, being conveyed in ships up the Red Sea, then carried by camels across the Isthmus of Suez, and again embarked in ships at Alexandria (5). In the early Middle Ages Constantinople, which was then the greatest, wealthiest, and most civilized city in Europe, was

enriched by this Eastern trade which poured into her markets, to be thence distributed all over Western Europe (6). Afterwards the Italian city republics, Pisa, Genoa, and, most of all, Venice, acquired wealth, dignity, and power by pursuing this ancient and historic commerce, acting as agents and distributors between Asia and Europe.

But the old routes of this trade were slow, laborious, and very costly; and the trade was disturbed and interrupted by the advance of the Turks in the fifteenth century (7). Thus there was the strongest incentive to find a way by which a ship could take its cargo in the East Indies and unload in a European port, avoiding the cost of transhipment and land carriage. Advances in the study of geography and improvements in the art of navigation at the same time favoured an increase of maritime enterprise on the ocean. And thus in the fifteenth century began that great movement of exploration and discovery which shifted the main channels of trade from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, and threw the weight of civilization westward.

The man who first directed this movement was Prince Henry of Portugal, who built an observatory on a Western Portuguese promontory, and there devoted himself to the study of astronomy, the improvement of navigation and shipbuilding, and the furtherance of African exploration, with a view to trade, especially trade in negro slaves (8). Portuguese sailors despatched by him year after year felt their way southwards down the west coast of Africa, and before his death in 1460 they had approached the Equator, and had dispelled the old belief that any man penetrating those torrid regions would be shrivelled up by heat.

Twenty-six years later the Portuguese navigators reached the southern extremity of Africa, which they named the Cape of Storms—a name altered by the Portuguese King to the Cape of Good Hope, because this great discovery marked the long-sought road to India (9). That road was soon followed by Vasco da Gama, the first man who sailed from Europe to India. In 1505 the first European Viceroy of India was appointed by the Portuguese King. In the course of their southward and eastward voyages the Portuguese also took possession of large tracts on the West and on the East coasts of Africa. The Empire of Europeans had begun its course in Africa and in Asia (10).

But the movement of colonization springs rather from the second great discovery—that which was made by Christopher Columbus five years after the first Portuguese voyage to the Cape. In 1492 Columbus set sail westward from Spain with three little ships, which are here pictured beside a modern Atlantic steamship. Columbus sailed westward in the hope of finding another sea-route to China, India, and the Spice Islands (11). He knew that the world was round; and, as the Portuguese were following the eastward route to Asia, he was convinced that he would reach the same destination from the opposite side by sailing westward; for the best geographers of that time believed that an uninterrupted ocean stretched from the West coasts of Europe and Africa to the East coast of Asia. But on his way to India he met with a pretty big obstruction, nothing less than the continent of America (12). In showing the way across the ocean, he had accomplished a thing even greater than his design. He had brought into contact two streams of human life which had previously run separate and

invisible to one another, and he had opened to Europe the gate of a New World (13). Yet till his death he persistently asserted that he had found the westward route to the Indies—an error which is recorded in the name still borne by the West Indian Islands.

Columbus's discoveries were followed up by a group of Spanish captains, who in successive voyages year after year eagerly explored the east coast of South America, constantly searching for a strait which might provide a route to Asia (14); and at last the task undertaken by Columbus was accomplished by a Spanish expedition commanded by Magellan, who, starting in 1519, discovered the southern strait (15) which bears his name, and sailed across the unknown and immense expanse of the South Sea, or Pacific Ocean, to the Philippine Islands. There he was killed in a crusading expedition, having practically achieved the object of his search; for he had reached the latitude of the Spice Islands, and had accomplished perhaps the greatest feat of navigation known to history (16). After his death his ship continued her westward voyage round the Cape of Good Hope, and reached Spain three years after her departure—the first ship to sail round the world.

Almost to the close of the eighteenth century the expansion of Europe follows mainly two lines—the first traced by the Portuguese in their voyages to India; the second traced by the Spaniards in their voyages to America. The story of empire, of dominion over rich and populous countries, apart from any considerable European emigration, deals chiefly with the commercial and political conquest of India and other Asiatic lands by Europeans; the story of colonization deals mainly with the migration of Europeans into the

New World. This latter subject claims attention first.

In the course of half a century from Columbus's first voyage (1492-1542) the Spanish adventurers added to the map of the world two continents and the widest of the oceans; and they also effectively traced the outlines of an American Empire which was to be about twice the size of Europe (17). The conquest of Mexico and of Peru gave them possession of wealthy and productive regions, whose wealth was enormously exaggerated in the popular belief of Europe. An extraordinary and almost violent impulse had carried a few handfuls of explorers and conquerors over a great part of two continents through all the obstacles of long and perilous voyages, of vast frozen mountains, of torrid deserts, of immense forests, rivers, and swamps. At least three-fourths of those men perished by shipwreck, or in battle, or in the wilderness. Yet through great crimes and wonderful exploits their work was accomplished. In 1580 the dominions of Spain extended on the Pacific coast from the north of Mexico to the south of Chile. On the eastern side they stretched from the north of Mexico to Trinidad, and also comprised in the Southern Hemisphere a considerable part of the River Plate basin, which was linked by a thin line of Spanish settlements with Peru and the Pacific regions. But the strength of that Empire was not proportionate to its size. In fact, that very extent was itself a source of weakness, for it was obviously impossible to provide adequate defence for such a vast stretch of coast and so many scattered islands (18).

Spain claimed exclusive possession of all the western lands, partly by virtue of discovery, partly by virtue

of a grant from the Pope, who had acted as arbitrator between Spain and Portugal, and had assigned all future western conquests to Spain. But this claim to exclusive dominion was not fully recognised by other Europeans. The first treasure-ship sent to Europe from Mexico was seized near the Azores by a French corsair, who presented the treasure to the King of France. When the Spanish King remonstrated, the French King replied: "Show me the testament of our father Adam, that I may be certified that the whole of the New World belongs to your Majesty." Before long, Spain and France being at war, the French corsairs found their way across the Atlantic (19). In 1537 Havana was robbed by a French captain, and was twice sacked and burnt in the following ten years; other towns of the islands and of the mainland, or Spanish Main, suffered the same fate. This weakness and loss in the West Indies was the penalty of the furious haste with which the Spaniards pushed on their conquests over vast continental regions. All available strength and valour were being spent in the distant search after new golden kingdoms; and thus the islands which were the earliest Spanish acquisitions, the nearest part of the empire to Europe, and the gate or barrier of tropical America, were left undefended and almost denuded of inhabitants.

In 1527 the first British ship to visit tropical America reached Santo Domingo; being received with a cannon-shot, she sailed away, and was probably lost on her homeward voyage. In the following years William Hawkins, a merchant of Southampton, made several trading voyages to the Portuguese settlements in Brazil (20). But it was not until the time of Queen Elizabeth that the English began to take any active part

in the westward race for wealth. Trade with the Spanish possessions was confined by law to the Spaniards, and all foreign traders were treated as smugglers and enemies. But the Spanish settlers were always ready to do business with these smugglers, and after 1560 John Hawkins, of Plymouth (21), son of the above-mentioned Southampton trader, took advantage of this, and carried on a very lucrative trade in negro slaves. He kidnapped or bought his negroes on the Guinea coast, carried them across the Atlantic, and sold them to the Spaniards in the little towns of the Spanish Main—that is to say, the north coast of South America. The local Spanish officials were bound to exclude him as a smuggler, but they were not very zealous, and Hawkins overcame their resistance by a mere display of force.

In 1567 Hawkins made his largest venture with five slave-ships, one of them belonging to Queen Elizabeth, who was a shareholder in the enterprise (22). Having sold his negroes profitably, he was sailing north-eastwards across the Gulf of Mexico on the return voyage, when a violent squall forced him to put into the harbour of Vera Cruz in order to refit his damaged ships. The local Spanish officials, unable to resist so strong a force, agreed that he should be allowed to do this without molestation; but a few days later a large Spanish fleet entered the bay, and the Spanish governor could not resist the temptation of a successful attack. In violation of the agreement, the Englishmen were suddenly assailed by an overpowering force. Three of their ships were sunk, and the other two hastily put to sea, one of them commanded by Hawkins, the other by a young sailor named Francis Drake (23). This incident, apparently

of no great historical importance, deserves emphasis because it started Drake upon his life-career of persistent hostility to Spain. He was determined to be revenged, and to repay himself for his loss by robbing the Spaniards in turn; and thus from a smuggler and slave-trader he was turned into a corsair and an enemy.

Twice he sailed from Plymouth to the Caribbean Sea to get information (24); and thus he learned how the gold and silver of the Spanish merchants was carried by mule-trains from Panama to the north side of the Isthmus, there to be shipped for Spain. Then for the decisive blow he sailed from Plymouth in one ship with seventy young sailors. Twice he attempted in vain to waylay the treasure mules in the forest: the third attempt succeeded; with much danger and difficulty he conveyed the booty on board his ship, and returned to Plymouth with a rich cargo of gold (25).

Drake was now a great man. His next voyage he made as Sir Francis Drake, Admiral of a royal squadron. He started on this, his most famous expedition, in 1577 with five ships, and followed the track of Magellan down the Atlantic and into the Pacific, losing most of his squadron on the way (26). The Pacific Ocean was at that time a Spanish lake, and knew no flag but that of Castile, which traversed it unmolested from Chile to Mexico and from Manila to Peru.* Thus no enemy was expected, and the Spaniards of Chile and Peru were wholly unprepared for defence. In every port which he entered Drake's ship was taken for a Spaniard, and he was able to raid and rob at his leisure, finding, however, little valuable booty, until

* Till 1592 the Manila galleon sailed annually to Callao, after that date to Acapuleo.

at last he overtook the Spanish treasure-ship on her way from Peru to Panama. A short fight overcame her, and soon the bars of silver were pouring from her hold into that of Drake's ship, the *Pelican*. Next he sailed north to California, and thence, guided by Spanish charts, he crossed the Pacific to the Moluccas, whence he sailed home round the Cape of Good Hope (27). Three years after his departure he sailed up the Thames with a rich cargo of booty—the first Englishman to sail round the world.

Later, in the course of more regular war against Spain, Drake led two large expeditions against the West Indies and the Spanish Main (28). In the first of these he took some Spanish towns, and gathered considerable booty, but without effecting any permanent settlement or conquest. His last expedition, in 1595, was unsuccessful, and was fatal to him, as well as to the veteran Sir John Hawkins. Both these commanders left their bones at the bottom of West Indian Seas.

Neither Drake nor other contemporary English captains who followed in his track ever won permanently a foot of land, nor did they leave a single English settler across the ocean (29). They robbed and raided the American coasts; they sank or burned ships and houses; they seized Spanish towns and exacted ransom; but they returned home with their gold crowns and silver dollars, and left little trace behind. In fact, Drake cannot be regarded as a planter or a colonizer, but rather as a pioneer, as one who showed the way to others. Apart from the great part which he played in the defence of his own country, his merit in the story of empire is that he showed his countrymen how they might sail wherever Spaniards had sailed, and how no seas and no lands were closed to them.

But during this century of Spanish and Portuguese settlement had the English done nothing towards independent exploration and settlement? (30). Yes, something had been done farther north. Already in 1497, five years after Columbus's first voyage, an English expedition from Bristol crossed the Atlantic, and reached the coast of North America under John Cabot and his son Sebastian (31), whose portrait as an old man we have here. The voyage was repeated in the following year, and then no result seems to follow. King Henry VII. gave ten pounds to "the man who found the new isle," but nothing is done to follow up or use the discovery. However, after the accession of King Henry VIII. some attempts were made in the same direction to find a north-west passage to the Indies. In fact, the object of these expeditions was not settlement, but trade. They aimed at pursuing the quest of Columbus, and finding a route to the Spice Islands round the north of the American continent.

Between 1516 and 1536 three British expeditions sailed in search of a north-west passage to the Indies (32); and in Queen Mary's reign Willoughby and Chancellor made several attempts to reach the same destination by a north-east passage, hoping to find a way through the Arctic Sea round the north of Russia and Siberia to the Far East. But these occasional efforts, daring and venturesome though they were, present a curious contrast to the crowded and pressing story of continuous and repeated Spanish expeditions and conquests by sea and land during the same period. In fact, the Mediterranean countries were the heirs of ancient civilization and learning (33); the kingdoms of the Peninsula were best fitted, both by their geographical position and by their previous history, to

undertake the work of oceanic exploration. England was not yet a maritime nation, and these islands still lay somewhat outside the main course of European life.

Yet, just as the search for a westward passage to the Indies led the Spaniards to a great American Empire, so also the search for a north-west passage is the introduction to British transoceanic empire (34). Another important stepping-stone to the West was supplied by the cod-fisheries on the Newfoundland banks, which lie in the open Atlantic about one hundred miles to the east of Newfoundland. From about the year 1500 Spanish, Portuguese, and French fishermen sailed every summer to these fishing-grounds, returning home before winter; English fishermen soon followed, and by the middle of the sixteenth century the harbour of St. John's, in Newfoundland, which was their rendezvous and refuge, annually sheltered a considerable fleet of fishing vessels from all the lands of Western Europe; among them the English were so numerous that in 1548 an Act of Parliament was passed to protect these fisheries; and thirty years later the English fishermen had acquired a certain predominance, so that the English captains acted as admirals of this international fishing fleet (35).

About the middle of Queen Elizabeth's reign western enterprise takes more definite form, partly in consequence of the search for a north-west passage, twice made from 1576 to 1578 by Frobisher. That commander brought back promising though somewhat delusive reports of the wealth of the countries visited by him. Two notable Englishmen—Sir Humphrey Gilbert (36) and his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh—were induced by these reports to form an elaborate scheme for English settlements in America. Their

design was not one of adventure, conquest, and rapid enrichment merely through the search for gold and silver; but they intended that the emigrants should form homes for themselves, tilling the ground and living in organized villages: in fact, they aimed at a plantation or colony of a type which was realized a generation later.

They obtained a license from the Queen, and after long preparation and consultation Gilbert at last sailed westward with five ships in 1583. Landing in Newfoundland, he claimed that island for the English crown, without making any settlement or establishing any clear ground for the claim. The men who accompanied him were rough and unpromising material for his enterprise, being largely pirates picked up in the narrow seas; for in those days piracy was a regular and almost respectable calling in the southern English ports. Some of the crews broke away from control; the squadron became scattered; and Gilbert, deterred by the wintry climate of Newfoundland, sailed southward in search of better lands (37). Meeting with violent storms, he was compelled to turn homewards with his two remaining ships, himself sailing in the little *Squirrel* of ten tons, accompanied by a larger consort. When he was urged to move into the larger ship, he replied: "I will not forsake my little company with whom I have passed through so many perils." They were continually tossed by the Atlantic storms, and one day, as he was sitting in the stern with a book in his hand, he called out to his comrades in the other ship: "Do not fear; we are as near to heaven by sea as by land." That night there came a furious squall; and as it passed, those in the large ship looked, and the *Squirrel's* lights were out. Thus the first attempt at

British settlement beyond the ocean was swallowed by the waves.

But the surviving brother, Raleigh, did not abandon the enterprise. He obtained a fresh license from the Queen, and determined this time to make his attempt farther south—in the country which he named Virginia, in honour of Elizabeth (38). He was unable himself to accompany the expedition, but in 1585 he sent a body of about one hundred emigrants across the Atlantic under Lane, who landed on an island south of the entrance to Chesapeake Bay. Lane sent home a magnificent account of the country; but this early promise was not fulfilled in that generation. Englishmen did not yet know what the plantation of a colony meant: they were not prepared to face the steady and patient toil which is the first condition of success. Their chief object was not to raise crops for food, but to search for gold and silver. They also came into conflict with the natives. In 1586 Drake's fleet appeared on its homeward voyage from a West Indian expedition; and the settlers, now reduced to a hopeless state of disorganization, seized the opportunity to return to England and abandon the enterprise. Thus Virginia completely perished (39).

Yet Raleigh was not yet beaten. In 1587 he sent a fresh body of recruits, who settled on Roanoke Island. But the following year was the year of the Spanish Armada. Partly owing to the need of keeping all available forces at home, partly owing to the disobedience of two captains whom he contrived to despatch westwards, Raleigh was unable in that year to send any aid to his plantation; and when in 1590 Sir Richard Grenville crossed the ocean with supplies and reinforcements, he found no trace whatever of the Roanoke

settlers. Raleigh sent several ships in search of them in vain, and to this day their fate is unknown (40).

Raleigh had now spent a vast fortune in the attempt to plant an English nation beyond the seas; and all his efforts had produced no visible result Yet, so far from accepting defeat, he turned his efforts in a new direction—towards the tropical regions of South America, where he aimed at conquest and dominion, at the acquisition of a gorgeous empire boundlessly rich in gold and silver, rather than at sober plantation or colonization. His imagination had been caught and his ambition had been fired by the marvellous achievements of the Spaniards, and by their conquests of the golden empires of Mexico and Peru (41); and he believed that somewhere between the rivers Orinoco and Amazon there existed the splendid monarchy of Manoa, the empire of "El Dorado," or the Gilded King, richer in gold and silver than any region won by the Spaniards—an empire which only awaited a bold conqueror to pass under the dominion of the Queen of England. The story of this expedition to the mouth of the Orinoco has been told by Raleigh himself in a pamphlet, "The Discovery of Guiana," which may be bought for a few pence. It is a fine piece of prose, worthy of the man who was a statesman, a courtier, a country gentleman, a naval architect, a commander by land and sea, a historian, and a poet. It has also a particular interest in that it represents to us the connection between Spanish empire and early English efforts, showing how those efforts were largely undertaken in conscious imitation and emulation of the Spaniards. But Raleigh's discovery of Guiana was not followed up; and, indeed, the empire of "El Dorado" only existed in dreams.

Thus, a century after the Cabot voyages we close our introduction with a seeming confession of failure At the end of Elizabeth's reign there was no British settlement outside these islands. Of those early pioneers of empire we may quote a living poet:

> "The ports ye shall not enter,
> The roads ye shall not tread;
> Go, make them with your living,
> And mark them with your dead."

Yet Gilbert and Raleigh were the guides and teachers of their generation and of the succeeding generation: they were the leaders of the forlorn hope which perished in the assault in order to prepare victory for those who follow. The power of education and of example cannot be exactly weighed or measured. But to those early pioneers must be conceded no small share in that movement which has built up in that Western region a great nation, mainly British in origin and character, and has also planted growing British communities in three continents (42).

LECTURE II

THE FIRST BRITISH COLONIES

I. VIRGINIA

AT the opening of the seventeenth century the British Empire (1) consisted of England and Wales, part of Ireland, and the Channel Islands. The adventurers of Elizabeth's reign had shown the way to success in colonization, but they had not themselves achieved success.

Sir Walter Raleigh had been hampered in his efforts to colonize Virginia by the war against Spain (2). When that war came to an end, at the accession of King James I. (1603), there was a chance for more steady and permanent enterprise: people were now free to turn their energies from warlike adventures to peaceful undertakings, and merchants began to look for new ways of employing their capital.

Accordingly, soon after James I.'s accession, we find a company of London merchants applying to the King for leave to plant a Colony in Virginia. Their chief object was commercial; they were ready to spend money on the venture in the hope of making a profit by it. The King was not displeased at the proposed enlargement of the realm, and at the prospect of sharing the profit; so he agreed, reserving to himself control over the Government of the Colony, and also

a tax of one-fifth of all gold and silver which might be found. As none was ever found, this tax did not trouble the settlers much! Nor was the royal control a serious matter, for by charters granted a few years later the King really handed over the government of the Colony to the London Company.

On New Year's Day, 1607, a little body of 140 emigrants set sail from the Downs; they were all men, recruited like soldiers, and sent out by the London Company (3). They sailed in the track of Raleigh; and in April, 1607, they entered the wide mouth of Chesapeake Bay, passing between two headlands, which they named Cape Henry and Cape Charles, in honour of the King's two sons. Chesapeake Bay is a great land-locked inlet of the sea, stretching 180 miles northward, and penetrating westward into the land by many smaller bays and estuaries. On a promontory within this bay they fixed their little settlement of Jamestown, so named after the King.

They were delighted with the rich aspect and mild climate of the country, which seemed to them "to claim the prerogative over the most pleasant places in the world." But as the summer advanced, the delusion passed; they awoke and found themselves in the wilderness. They suffered from excessive heat, from pestilence, from the hostility of Indians, and from hunger. One of them writes thus: "Our drink was water, our lodging castles in the air; had we been as free from all sins as we were from gluttony and drunkenness, we might have been canonized as saints." In fact, Englishmen had not yet learned what a Colony meant and what it required; the settlers were not prepared for the daily routine of steady labour which was necessary in order to win a livelihood. Among the emigrants

there were only twelve labourers and four carpenters; no less than forty-eight are described as "gentlemen." These were men unaccustomed to labour, who had joined the venture in some vague hope of making their fortunes quickly and easily (4).

The Spanish adventurers had found countries teeming with gold and silver, and why should not Englishmen do the same? So, instead of building houses and sowing corn, they wandered in search of gold and silver, which they expected to find somewhere towards the West.

In the first summer fifty men died, and the survivors were disorganized and helpless; the councillors who were supposed to rule the Colony were distracted; there was little government and no order. Virginia was on the point of perishing.

In these troubles the most capable man came to the front and saved the Colony. This was Captain John Smith. The name sounds familiar somehow; there is not much doubt about his nationality; and we are reminded that, whatever those countries now are, they were in the beginning English. Smith, according to his own account, had already passed through enough adventures in love and war, by sea and land, in all parts of the world, to furnish a hundred sensational books for boys; and he has left us an amusingly boastful account of his doings in Virginia (5). He describes how he was made prisoner by Indians, and saved his life by pulling out his pocket compass and giving the savages a short lecture on geography.

In a later account he expands this story, saying that he was kept for some weeks by the Indians, and fattened—as he believed, for practical purposes. Then, just as the fatal tomahawk was about to fall, he was saved by the Indian Princess Pocahontas, who threw

her arms round his neck and begged his life from her father (6). This Pocahontas afterwards married an Englishman named John Rolfe, and died in England, at Gravesend.

In spite of his tendency to romance, Smith proved a most capable leader. He made the gentlemen work at cutting timber for building houses; he sowed corn for future provision, and obtained a present supply from his Indian allies. For two years he was the life and soul of the Colony.

But in October, 1609, Smith, suffering from a wound, returned to England; and the settlers (who were now increased to about 500 by fresh arrivals) sank into a terrible state of disorder and distress. At last, in the summer of 1610, the few survivors, finding starvation before them, embarked on their ships and prepared to abandon the Colony (7). They had actually fired a farewell salute and were putting out to sea, when a ship arrived from England bringing the new Governor, Lord Delaware, who stopped them from sailing. The earliest British Colony was only saved from extinction by a timely accident!

Sir Thomas Dale, who went to Virginia in the following year and ruled as Deputy-Governor for five years, found the Colony still idle and stagnant: "No corn sowed; the people at their daily and usual work, bowling in the streets."

One cannot help asking, "Were these idle people really English colonists? What is the meaning of these indolent, shiftless ways?"

The answer is simple. These men had little personal interest in the enterprise, and no hope of improving their condition by success; for they had no separate property. Everything was regarded as forming a

common stock. The land was held to be the property of the Company, not of the settlers (8). The men were expected to work for the Company, not for themselves. Their business was to earn a profit for the London merchants, themselves only receiving a small share. No wonder they were idle. In fact, they can hardly be called colonists at all: they were recruits enlisted by the Company. Industrious, orderly people could not be induced to go to Virginia. Many of the first Virginians were the outcasts and failures of English society; some of them were criminals from the gaols of England.

Dale set to work to cure these evils. He was a severe ruler, punishing all disorders with terrible rigour, but he gave the people an interest in the Colony by granting land to the older settlers. Soon afterwards the communistic system was abandoned, and any free Virginian might own property.

In another way Dale was the founder of Virginian prosperity, for he taught the people to grow tobacco, by which the Colony lived and flourished. This was so profitable that soon tobacco was planted even in the streets of Jamestown; and in the scarcity of coin, tobacco was used as money, people paying so many pounds of the weed for whatever they wished to buy. Ever since that time the cultivation of tobacco has been the principal industry of Virginia.

In that same year a great effort was made in England to restore and support the Colony; it was felt to be a shame that such an enterprise should be allowed to languish in perpetual danger of perishing. Ships were chartered, and many hundreds of emigrants were enlisted and sent out (9).

At the same time a most necessary step was taken. It occurred to the friends of Virginia that they could

not establish a permanent State consisting of men only; and so far there were but few women in the Colony. Accordingly, a number of young women were now enlisted and sent out just as the men had been sent. Any Virginian who wanted a wife must pay 150 pounds of tobacco towards the expense of her voyage. There was such competition for these prizes that the amount was raised to 200 pounds of tobacco; and the Colonial Assembly at Jamestown was obliged to pass a law that no maid should be betrothed to more than one man at the same time (10).

These three steps—the organization of the tobacco industry, the possession of land by the settlers, and the emigration of women—started the Colony on the upward path. There were still many troubles to be passed through, especially a terrible Indian war, in which numbers of the settlers perished; but the Colony was now fixed upon a sounder basis, and from this time progress, although slow, was steady.

The Colonial Assembly has just been mentioned; this came into existence in 1619, when the London Company authorized their Governor to summon deputies to be elected by the colonists. Thus met the first Parliament in the British Empire outside the British Isles (11).

In the last year of King James I. the London Company was abolished, and Virginia passed nominally under the direct control of the Crown; but, in fact, during the reign of Charles I. this control was little exercised, and Virginia was mostly left alone to grow and expand in her own way. Free settlers and cultivators spread over the wide unoccupied lands. During the Puritan domination many English Royalists fled to Virginia, where they were well received (12). Thus

the population increased; and in 1660, after half a century of life, the Colony contained about 40,000 inhabitants—a respectable number when we consider the small size of ships in those days, the length and cost of the voyage, and the terrible mortality among the earliest settlers.

The first chapter in the story of British colonization may fitly be closed by two quotations from Shakespeare—first, a passage from the play "King Richard II.," where the poet speaks of England as—

> "This fortress built by Nature for herself
> Against infestion and the hand of war;
> This happy breed of men, this other world,
> This precious stone set in the silver sea,
> Which serves it in the office of a wall,
> Or as a moat defensive to a house
> Against the envy of less happier lands."

That is a description of Little England, of England in the old days—a self-contained country, cut off from the rest of the world, and satisfied to remain sitting within her borders like a homestead surrounded by its ring-fence (13).

The other passage comes at the end of the play "King Henry VIII." Shakespeare wrote it after the first foundation of Virginia, and in it he is speaking of King James I.:

> "Wherever the bright sun of heaven shall shine,
> His honour and the greatness of his name
> Shall be, and make new nations."

The same spirit breathes in the two passages, but the point of view is strangely different (14). The first is a description of Little England as she had been; the second is a prophecy of the growth of Greater Britain as she was to be.

II. New England

(*a*) *Plymouth.*

So far we have been following the story of *artificial* colonization, a movement which was guided by authority, and controlled at first, not by the settlers themselves, but by speculators and managers who remained at home. The people most interested in the undertaking stayed in England and never visited Virginia. The first settlers were not bound together by any common motive ; they can scarcely be called voluntary emigrants ; they were scattered individuals enlisted and sent out in the interests of others. We have seen how doubtful and precarious such an enterprise must be (15).

We now turn to a very different picture, that *spontaneous* colonization which established the Puritan Colonies in New England. These men left Europe deliberately and of their own accord; they were moved by the strongest possible motive—namely, the determination to maintain opinions and practices for which they had already suffered hardship ; they were bound together from the beginning into self-governing bodies. They crossed the sea, not in any spirit of vain adventure or hope of speedy fortune, but in the resolve to find permanent homes for themselves, their wives and children, where they might exercise their religion undisturbed and leave their posterity to succeed them (16).

To find the origin of the New England Colonies we must turn to England. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth most of the Puritans remained within the Estab-

lished Church. A few, however, formed independent congregations, and became known as *Separatists*. These Nonconformists met with little favour from the authorities, and some of them thought of emigrating to America even in Elizabeth's reign (17).

When James I. became King, he declared that he would not tolerate Nonconformity : " I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of the land," were his words. Emigration seemed the best way of avoiding the King's displeasure. At the little village of Scrooby, in Lincolnshire, there was an Independent congregation which had two capable leaders—their pastor, John Robinson, and their ruling elder, Brewster. These two men persuaded their people to move in a body to Holland, where they lived for about ten years (18). But as time went on they became dissatisfied ; they were out of sympathy with their surroundings, and they saw their children growing up as Dutchmen ; so some of them determined to seek a home in America, where they might live as Englishmen. They obtained leave from the London Company to settle in Virginia, and they also got the consent of King James, who promised that they should not be disturbed as long as they behaved properly (19). Returning to England, they set sail from Southampton in two ships—the *Mayflower* and the *Speedwell*. An accident forced the *Speedwell* to return, and at last the *Mayflower* sailed alone from Plymouth, carrying about one hundred emigrants. These were not merely a collection of men like the first Virginians ; they were a united group of families, men with their wives and children. In fact, the *Mayflower* carried a floating village, an organized community, one might say a little State (20).

They sighted land in November, 1620. The winds

had carried them far to the north of their intended destination, and they found themselves in the bay behind Cape Cod, that curious promontory which juts out like a crooked finger. Thus, New England is separated from Virginia by 500 miles of coast (21). Before landing, the grown-up men, forty in number, met in the cabin of the *Mayflower* and agreed that they would combine into "a civil body politic, to frame laws and ordinances." This means that they agreed to hold together as members of an organized community, none breaking away as separate adventurers; they were determined to make an orderly, well-governed State (22).

Then these Pilgrim Fathers landed and proceeded to build their little post of New Plymouth. They chose their own Governor; they also chose their military commander, Miles Standish, a capable soldier, who afterwards did battle against the Indians. Fortunately, they were not molested by the natives at first.

Winter was coming on, and they suffered terribly from exposure and scanty food. At one time only seven men were fit for work, and before spring came half of their number were dead. Fresh English emigrants joined them from Holland, but for several years the village was very small and very poor. There was one great drawback, the same which had impeded the growth of Virginia: no one was allowed to own land or work for himself; communism was the law of the settlement, for they had borrowed money in England for the expenses of emigration, and had promised their creditors that the profits of all labour should go into a common fund for seven years in order to repay the debt. Under these conditions the people would not work; so after three years a change was made, and

the settlers became landowners. When they were thus allowed to work for themselves and their families, the Colony began to advance (23).

The first government was simple: all the citizens met together to make laws and choose magistrates. But when Plymouth spread out into other little villages, the men found it troublesome to attend; so they elected deputies, and a Parliament came into being.

Plymouth never grew beyond small limits: after nine years there were only 300 inhabitants; but the historians of America have always dwelt with loving minuteness on the story of these Pilgrim Fathers, these Englishmen whom they regard as the patriarchs of their country.

(*b*) *Massachusetts.*

This little Colony at Plymouth was followed ten years later by a much larger movement—namely, the settlement of Massachusetts, farther north (24).

There were in England many conforming Puritans who remained in the Established Church. But under the government of Archbishop Laud they felt their position unbearable, and some proposed to find freedom of conscience beyond the sea. Several men of substance and position in the Eastern Counties joined together for this purpose. One of them, Endicott, first led a few settlers to Salem, about fifty miles north of New Plymouth. Meantime, the others obtained from King Charles I. a charter forming them into a Company (25). A dozen householders met at Cambridge and agreed to emigrate with their families, provided that the government should be in the Colony itself; so

it was decided that the Governor and Council of the Company should emigrate in a body, carrying the charter with them. Thus the Company was at once converted into a self-governing Colony.

In 1630 they sailed in a little fleet carrying nearly 1,000 emigrants. This was the first large deliberate movement of emigration from England, and reminds us of the old Greek method of colonization, when a body of citizens set out under a chosen leader to establish an organized city beyond the sea (26).

The leader in this case was John Winthrop, a middle-aged country gentleman from Suffolk, a simple, unassuming landowner who had lived for years at home in the quiet performance of duty. He now showed himself to be a ruler of rare prudence, unselfishness, and capacity, fit to be the chief founder of a great State (27). His story reminds us that in a colonist or a colonial leader the most valuable qualities are not those of a dashing adventurer, but the homely, everyday virtues of the conscientious citizen.

Winthrop settled at Boston, which soon outgrew Salem and became the capital of Massachusetts. Fresh emigrants followed, and the Colony grew rapidly: at the end of a year there were eight villages, numbering in all 3,000 inhabitants, and in ten years—from 1630 to 1640—about 21,000 people sailed from England to Massachusetts. Trade sprang up, for many of the people were business-like middle-class Englishmen; so they exported furs, timber, and salt fish to Virginia, to the Dutch settlements lying south-west of them, and to England.

Winthrop was far from being a democrat: to us he would seem rather an old-fashioned Tory. He and his friends wished to keep the government in the hands

of a small Council—in fact, to establish an oligarchy: but when this Council tried to impose taxes, the instincts or habits of Englishmen asserted themselves, and a representative Government grew up, the different towns electing deputies to sit in an Assembly or Parliament.

It is surprising to find that very soon the intolerance of the Puritan Government of Massachusetts compelled many people to leave the Colony. Most of the Massachusetts people had been conforming Puritans in England, but upon crossing the sea they became Separatists, and the congregations chose their own ministers. They had gone out, as they said, to find "freedom of conscience," but it soon became clear that what they wanted was freedom of conscience for themselves, not for other people. Toleration was as hateful to them as to Archbishop Laud: they had really left England to find a country where their religion should be the established religion of the country. None but church members had the rights of citizens; heresy or nonconformity from the established Puritan rule was counted an offence against the State.

Thus, there was great indignation when Roger Williams, the minister of Salem, began to teach that complete toleration ought to be the law of the land, and that a man's opinions were not the concern of the magistrate. These ideas, so familiar to us, appeared treasonable to the Puritans of Massachusetts. The Governor, Dudley, successor to Winthrop, was so deeply moved that he broke into poetry:

> "Let men of God in courts and councils watch
> On such as do a toleration hatch,
> Lest that ill egg bring forth a cockatrice
> To poison all with heresy and vice."

Dudley was not a beautiful poet, but it is clear that he hated toleration !

Williams was ordered to return to England. Such a dangerous man must not inhabit the Western Hemisphere, even outside the Colony ! But the banished man found room in America ; he travelled southwards through the woods, aided by the Indians (whose friend he had always been), and settled at a spot which he named Providence (28).

There was some excuse for the banishment of Williams ; for, although a most amiable and beautiful character, he was an uncomfortable, indiscreet person who did not know how to hold his tongue ; and his teaching was partly political. He held, for instance, the awkward view that the Royal Charter of Massachusetts had no value, for that the land belonged to the Indians. But after him others were condemned on points of doctrine ; so a number of refugees for conscience' sake left the Colony, and settled in small parties near Providence. These afterwards joined together to form the new Colony of Rhode Island, a State in which complete toleration was the law from the beginning. Thus, the Colony of Rhode Island sprang from intolerance in New England, just as New England had sprung from intolerance in the Mother Country. But the respectable citizens of Boston despised Rhode Island as a collection of lawless and disorderly people.

But enough has been said of this unpleasant side of New England life : let us turn and watch the wholesome growth of Massachusetts (29).

The large emigration from England and the vigorous increase of Massachusetts, with its Puritan and independent character, alarmed the King's Government, which took steps to bring the Colony under control ;

but in 1639 the Scottish rebellion broke out, followed by the meeting of the Long Parliament and the beginning of the Civil War (30). King Charles and his Ministers had enough to do at home, and New England was left to develop unmolested. Meantime the colonists were spreading inland. Some settlements were founded on the banks of the Connecticut River, where there was better soil. These were separated from Boston by a strip of uninhabited land. Thus, there was a difficulty about government. The question was settled by erecting Connecticut into a separate Colony, with its own Governor and Parliament (31).

About the same time a fresh body of emigrants arrived from old England—a congregation which crossed the sea under their pastor, Davenport; they settled on the south coast, at a spot which they fittingly named Newhaven.

Thus, there were now four distinct and separate Colonies, each with its own Government (not counting Rhode Island, which was regarded as almost outside the pale of civilization). These four were New Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Newhaven. It was felt that this division was a source of weakness, and that union would strengthen them against possible attack. There was danger from the Indians, from the French who were settled in Canada, and from the Dutch Colony which touched the borders of Connecticut; so it was agreed that the colonists should combine into a federation known as "The Four United Colonies of New England." Each of the four Colonies was to be self-governing, keeping its own separate Parliament; but for purposes of defence they were united, and the affairs of the league were managed by deputies from the four Colonies.

Thus, in 1643 appeared the first confederation within the British Empire. This league flourished for twenty years, and achieved its objects. It lasted altogether for forty years, and then came to an end because Massachusetts, being so much bigger and stronger than the others, wished to control all the affairs of the league, and offended other members; but it is interesting to find so early in the history of the Empire that method which afterwards went to form the United States of America, the Dominion of Canada, and, quite recently, the Commonwealth of Australia (32).

About the same time the stream of emigration to New England was stopped or very much diminished, for the Puritans were now getting the upper hand in England, and had no longer any reason for going abroad. Thus, the confederation of the four united Colonies closes the first chapter in the growth of New England (33).

The origin of Virginia and the origin of New England have been described in detail, because these two movements explain so much that follows. When the beginning of a story is clearly understood, it is easier to understand the rest.

It may be asked why we spend all this time over countries which do not now belong to the British Empire. Well, in telling the story of the Empire, we ought clearly to begin at the beginning: the story would be very incomplete and confused if we left out the earliest British Colonies. Besides, the creation of the United States is certainly not least among the achievements of Great Britain in colonization (34).

That work was in the earlier stages decidedly English. First and most important, the men came from England; secondly, the means of emigration

were provided in England, and many Englishmen who never left their own country did much towards the establishment of these Colonies; and lastly, even the British Government did its share, for by giving recognition to these Colonies it gave them a lawful standing in the face of other nations, and by reckoning them as part of the Empire it gave them the great boon of defence by the strength of the Empire.

LECTURE III

GROWTH OF THE FIRST COLONIES

NORTH AMERICA AND THE WEST INDIES

IN (1) the last lecture we traced the foundation of two separate groups of British settlements in America—the Royalist and Episcopalian settlement of Virginia in the South, and Puritan New England in the North. The rest of the story of British settlement on the Atlantic coast is concerned partly with the growth of these two groups and their expansion into other Colonies, partly with the acquisition and occupation of the wide region stretching between Virginia and New England.

The first step of farther expansion consists in the extension of Virginia, or, rather, the carving out of a new Colony from the Virginian region through emigration from England—emigration which formed the Colony of Maryland. This settlement owed its origin to the work of a planter—to use the old term which denotes a colonizer, a leader who organizes a movement of emigration and settlement, as Gilbert and Raleigh attempted to do (2).

The first mover in this case was George Calvert, Secretary of State to King James I., a laborious and capable public servant, who is described as "a forward and knowing person in matters relating to the State."

In 1625, having retired from the King's service with the title of Lord Baltimore, he declared himself a Roman Catholic, and he devoted the rest of his life to efforts at plantation or colonization. Twice he visited Newfoundland, where he had planted a small colony of Roman Catholics, believing that island to be a rich and fertile country of beautiful climate (3). But the long and bitter winter undeceived him, and after spending a large fortune in the enterprise, he returned home, and there died, while he was preparing another attempt at plantation in milder regions (4).

But the attempt was taken up by his son, Cecil Calvert, second Lord Baltimore. He did not himself cross the Atlantic, but in 1634 he despatched a body of settlers under his brother, Leonard Calvert, who sailed up Chesapeake Bay and occupied the region to the north of Virginia, giving to the country the name of Maryland and to the capital the name of Baltimore, after the title of the Lord Proprietor. We all know that such names as Boston, Plymouth, and New York are borrowed from English towns; but we may not remember that the true original Baltimore is not a great city in the United States, but a fishing village in Ireland, from which Calvert drew his title (5).

Calvert had received from Charles I. a charter which conferred upon him curiously large powers. He was made Lord Proprietor of this new country, with complete personal authority to govern and to transmit his power and dominions to his descendants, on condition of paying to the British Crown one-fifth of all gold and silver which should be found, besides a yearly tribute of two Indian arrows (6). As no gold or silver were ever found, the tribute was not onerous. Thus within the British Empire was established a little

hereditary monarchy subject to the distant and little-felt sovereignty of the British Crown. Through his brother, the first Governor of Maryland, Lord Baltimore ruled his dominions like a Sovereign, summoning first an assembly of all freemen and afterwards a Parliament, which voted him a revenue.

Although the leaders and many of the settlers were Roman Catholics, this was not the prevailing nor the established religion. But the leaders, probably in order that they might enjoy their own religion undisturbed, established free toleration for all Christians as the law of the Colony. This wise and unusual arrangement attracted settlers both from New England and from Virginia; and under the moderate and prudent rule of Leonard Calvert and of his nephew, who succeeded him as second Governor, Maryland enjoyed a tranquil and steady prosperity.

Thus British occupation had spread northwards from Virginia; but there was still a long stretch of coast between this southern group of British settlement and the northern group of New England (7). This intervening region had been occupied by the Dutch, who called the country the New Netherlands and its capital New Amsterdam. But this Dutch Colony had little vigour or popular vitality. It was governed by the Dutch West India Company, whose objects were commercial rather than colonial, and it contained a mixed population drawn from many nations, among them a number of French Huguenots. On its southern borders there was a Swedish settlement, which was, however, absorbed by the Dutch Colony before the Dutch Colony, in its turn, was occupied by the British (8).

That event took place soon after the restoration of

Charles II. Already the English in New England had encroached somewhat upon the northern limits of the Dutch; and when, upon a war breaking out between England and Holland, a British fleet appeared at New Amsterdam in 1664, the place yielded almost without resistance, and was renamed New York in honour of the King's brother, the Duke of York, who became Lord Proprietor (9). When the Duke of York afterwards became King as James II., the province naturally passed under the authority of the Crown.

The thinly-inhabited southern part of this newly-acquired territory received the name of New Jersey. Here a number of English Quakers soon began to settle, people who suffered persecution in England, and who found no refuge in New England, where they met with still harsher treatment at the hands of the Puritan colonists. This Quaker immigration is the first small beginning of the province or State of New Jersey (10).

That immigration had been aided by a notable person in England, William Penn, who, as the son of Admiral Penn, the conqueror of Jamaica, was born to a considerable position and fortune. After his education at Oxford, he had travelled abroad, had afterwards been a law student in London, and had served with credit as a soldier or gentleman volunteer. He was known as a high-spirited, accomplished, and fashionable young man, familiar with the great and powerful, and enjoying the protection of the Duke of York. But by becoming a Quaker he abandoned all his prospects of a brilliant career at home, and twice he suffered imprisonment for his convictions. Having obtained his freedom by favour of the Duke of York, he determined to devote his energies to the plantation of a Colony which might provide a refuge, not only to those

who shared his views, but to all who might wish to join in the "holy experiment of a free Colony for all mankind." Penn had inherited from his father a claim of £16,000 against the Crown; and Charles II. readily consented to pay this debt by giving him a grant of land to the west of New Jersey (11). Thither Penn sailed in 1682 with a party of emigrants, and founded Philadelphia, "the city of brotherly love," as capital of the new province of Pennsylvania, so called after his name. Penn was made Lord Proprietor of this province, with powers of government and of transmission to his heirs. Thus was established within the British Empire a second hereditary monarchy resembling that of the Calverts in Maryland; but in the case of Pennsylvania the personal power conferred upon the Penn family was less complete, and some control was exercised by the Crown (12).

Penn alone among the early planters of American Colonies contrived to maintain satisfactory relations with the Indians. Among his white subjects a Parliamentary system of government was introduced. Notwithstanding long disputes between the Proprietor and his Parliament concerning the exercise of his authority, Pennsylvania made steady and tranquil progress: settlers were attracted not only from England but also from Germany; and, thanks to the prudent, vigorous, and peaceful character of the inhabitants and of their Government, the Colony soon rivalled Virginia and Massachusetts in wealth, population, and dignity (13).

The foundation of Pennsylvania completes the establishment of the Middle Colonies, which occupy the region between New England and Chesapeake Bay. But to the south of Virginia there is a long sweep of

coast stretching into subtropical regions to the peninsula of Florida, which was a Spanish dependency. Before the middle of the seventeenth century small and scattered groups of settlers were making their way to this warm and comfortable region from Virginia, from New England, from the West Indian island of Barbadoes, which had received a British Colony in 1625, and from England. Thus a dispersed population was springing up, remote from government and law, supporting themselves by fishing and hunting, by simple agriculture, and by trade with the Indians, who were somewhat more civilized than the more northern tribes.

But in 1664 an attempt was made to give solidity and definite form to this southern movement (14). The country was then granted by Charles II., under the name of Carolina, to a group of eight proprietors, who attempted to establish a very artificial and elaborate form of government. This attempt was not very successful; and the settlements, although they increased considerably, still largely retained their informal and scattered character, the largest centres of population being merely villages, not excepting Charleston, the capital. Through these scattered settlements, and through the Government afterwards set over them, the two provinces or States of North Carolina and South Carolina came into existence. They were provinces of the Virginian type, enjoying a certain rude and simple material prosperity rather than a highly organized social system, and living largely on the produce of the soil tilled by slave labour (15).

One more step to the south completes the tale of these American Colonies—the foundation of Georgia. The name indicates that we have now passed into the

eighteenth century, into the time of the Georges; in fact the Colony was named after George II., in whose reign it was planted. The founder was a soldier named Oglethorpe, a generous, humane, and active man, whose compassion had been moved by the sufferings of debtors in English prisons. He determined that a Colony should be founded as a refuge for the poor and unfortunate, and in consequence of his efforts George II. granted the province of Georgia, "in trust for the poor," to a body of proprietors, among whom Oglethorpe was the leading spirit (16). He himself accompanied the first body of emigrants, and devoted ten years of his life to the establishment of the Colony and to the benevolent work of aiding, advising, and ruling the settlers. Not only English emigrants were received, but also a body of Moravians, as well as a number of German Protestant refugees from Salzburg. When a party of Scottish Highlanders joined the Colony, Oglethorpe met them at their landing, himself wearing kilt, sporran, and Highland bonnet, to welcome them to their new home. His frank, soldierly generosity and his genuine benevolence fitted him well to act the part of an amiable despot, which the circumstances required (17).

One object of the foundation of Georgia was to provide a defence for the other Colonies against the Spaniards of Florida in case of need. Accordingly Georgia contained a small British garrison, and during a war between Great Britain and Spain, Oglethorpe successfully defended his little Colony against Spanish invasion.

Upon the foundation of Georgia, British occupation extended along the Atlantic coast from Nova Scotia to the northern boundary of Florida. It must be

remembered that, while this settlement was going on and while fresh Colonies were being founded, the older Colonies were increasing in population, industry, and wealth, and were becoming important political communities (18).

Most of the Colonies were founded by means of systematic effort and deliberate organization in the beginning; and in all of them an attempt was early made to form a complete frame of society, in which every function of life, from that of the statesman to that of the labourer, should find someone qualified to undertake it; so that in some degree a copy of England and of English life might be produced. But it is evident from this brief outline that the Colonies differed widely from one another in the dates of their foundation or acquisition, in the motives and objects of their founders, and in their mode of government and relations with the Mother Country.

Every one of the thirteen Colonies was separate and distinct from all the rest. Every one had its separate Government, and, as a rule, recognised no political connection with any other Colony beyond the fact that they were all subject to the British Crown. Pennsylvania was distinctly separate from its neighbour Maryland, as much as New Zealand is separate from Natal to-day. But the thirteen Colonies had certain general resemblances. Notwithstanding the Dutch origin of part of them, they were on the whole British in character, and all alike recognised the sovereignty of the Mother Country, although not all under similar forms (19). Again, every one of them acquired sooner or later some form of Parliamentary Government, the people electing a representative assembly to make laws, to vote taxes and to advise the Governor. But the

Governors of the Colonies were appointed in different ways. To most of the Colonies Governors were sent by the King, sometimes from the time of their foundation, sometimes after the first stage of their development. In Maryland and in Pennsylvania the Governor was appointed by the Lord Proprietor, and in Connecticut the Governor was chosen by the inhabitants of the Colony.

Down to the middle of the eighteenth century there was little sign of any active dissatisfaction in the Colonies towards the British Government (20). These American colonists called themselves Englishmen; and, as we shall see in the next lecture, their rivalry with their French neighbours tended to preserve and emphasize their English character and sentiment and their attachment to the Mother Country. Nevertheless there were certain political disputes and troubles which marked the relations of the colonists to British authority. Thus, in some Colonies there were frequent and almost continuous disputes between the elected assembly and the Governor or royal representative concerning the mode of voting the taxes, and also the mode of expending the revenue.

Certain interferences on the part of the British Government with manufacture and trade also constituted distinct grievances (21). The most important of these lay in the Navigation Acts, which were first imposed under Cromwell, and afterwards amplified under Charles II. These Acts ordered that trade with the Colonies should be carried on in British ships—that is, ships owned by Englishmen or by English colonists—and also that certain colonial products might only be exported to British ports. Thus no foreign ship was allowed by law to enter a

colonial harbour, a rule which evidently imposed a heavy tax and a serious hindrance upon colonial trade; and, again, a colonial merchant, if he were sending certain goods to a foreign country, was obliged to send them first to a British port, a rule which evidently increased the cost and difficulty of trade.

But against these interferences with trade are to be set certain compensating advantages. In the first place, preference was given in the English Custom-house to certain colonial products. Thus Virginian tobacco practically had the monopoly of the English market, and sugar from the British West Indian Islands had a similar monopoly (22). Moreover, the object of the Navigation Acts was to favour British shipping, to increase the British mercantile marine, and to strengthen the British Navy. Thus the restrictions which increased the cost and difficulty of trade were in the nature of a tax paid by the colonists towards the cost of Imperial defence; and the advantage which they received in return—defence by the forces of the Mother Country—was of incalculable value to them. Lastly, the Navigation Acts were not very rigorously enforced; they were continually evaded by colonial traders, and an extensive smuggling trade was carried on throughout the Colonies.

In general the friction between colonial opinion and the representatives of British authority was not very bitter, and the disputes which arose were probably less serious and less disturbing to the peace than political disputes which were agitated in England during the same period. The colonists generally possessed large powers of managing their own affairs; taxation was not heavy; administration was economical and was reasonably good, and the citizen in the ordinary

affairs of life suffered very little from official interference or control (23). Although the theoretic claims of the British Government over the Colonies cannot be defended on abstract grounds, and although there was much in its positive action which is inconsistent with modern political theory, yet, judged by the ideas prevailing at the time, and by comparison with other colonizing Powers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the attitude of the British Government to the Colonies was moderate, prudent, and just. On the whole, the colonist probably exercised quite as much control over his Government as the Englishman living in England exercised over his own Government; and the colonist certainly possessed, on the whole, a greater degree of personal and individual liberty than the Englishman living in England (24).

West Indies

So far we have been following a movement which was generally tranquil and orderly, the settlement of peaceable and law-abiding emigrants who went out to establish homes for themselves in the temperate regions of the North American continent. We now turn to a very different picture—the picturesque story of settlement and conquest in the tropical West Indian Islands, where Spaniards, Dutch, French, and English met as traders, smugglers, and fighters by land and sea, all struggling to win or to maintain their footing on these rich islands or on the neighbouring tropical coasts. The British Empire in the West Indies was, indeed, partly the work of peaceable settlement, especially in Barbadoes; but it was partly the work of lawless and

unscrupulous adventurers, hunters, smugglers, and freebooters (25).

We have all heard of the buccaneers of America. They have provided material for scores of tales of adventure and excitement. They are known by various names—buccaneers, freebooters, brethren of the coast, filibusters; privateers they often called themselves, pirates they were sometimes called by others. Although their proceedings have been little regarded by serious historians, they did so much towards the winning of Empire in the West Indian Islands for Holland, for France, and for Great Britain that their exploits call for some description.

In tracing the origin of these lawless adventurers it is necessary to glance at the history of the Spanish settlements in the West Indies. These Spanish settlements, which were the earliest in origin and the nearest to Europe, were repeatedly attacked even during the sixteenth century by French, Dutch, and English raiders, as we saw in the first lecture. These marauders usually sailed back again to Europe with their booty, and left no permanent settlement behind them. But from the opening of the seventeenth century a new chapter of West Indian history begins with the appearance of other European settlers besides Spaniards in the islands. These first trespassers on the Spanish domains were Frenchmen, a scattered, lawless, and half-barbarous set of men who lived by hunting cattle on the island of Hayti, or Santo Domingo (26).

This large island was the earliest American dependency of Spain, the country in which Columbus had founded the first Spanish settlement. But—although the island is nearly as large as Scotland—the Spaniards only occupied some small towns on the coast, and

the interior was abandoned to great herds of wild cattle, descendants of the European cattle early introduced by the Spaniards. These horned cattle wandered almost undisturbed over the wide grass plains which stretch between three parallel ranges of mountains. Early in the seventeenth century a few French adventurers made their way to these rich uninhabited plains, and there lived by hunting the cattle and curing the meat, which they sold to passing vessels. The carcasses of the beasts were preserved by smoking them on a wooden barbecue, or open frame of poles built over a wood fire. This barbecue was called by an Indian name, *boucan;* and hence the hunters were named *boucaniers*—that is to say, hunters and curers of beef. *Boucanier* became a recognised French word, which was corrupted by the English into *buccaneer.*

The Spanish laws forbade foreigners to trade or even to settle in Spanish America, and accordingly the Spanish officials received orders to extirpate these interlopers. The buccaneers upon being attacked took refuge in the woods, and defending themselves with fierce valour, baffled all attempts to confine or destroy them. They were men who had sunk into a kind of sordid, ferocious, and cruel savagery, accustomed to hardship, exposure, and danger, and expert in the craft of wood and plain. The Spanish officials found it impossible to cope with them in the endless skirmishing warfare which was carried on with constantly increasing bitterness and ferocity; while the buccaneers, who had been merely outlaws chiefly engaged in a harmless occupation, were now turned into dangerous enemies.

Having failed to extirpate the buccaneers, the Spanish officers came to an extraordinary resolution.

They determined to destroy all the wild cattle in the island, in order that the buccaneers might be exterminated through the destruction of their means of livelihood. Great numbers of the cattle were destroyed, but the result was very different from that intended. Already the buccaneers had been compelled by Spanish attacks to combine for self-defence, and those who had been scattered groups of outlaws were becoming a formidable body of fighters. Now, the cattle which had supported them being destroyed and their difficulties being constantly increased by persistent attacks, they became pirates, though without completely abandoning their former occupation of hunting (27).

Being constantly harassed in Santo Domingo, they united to make their headquarters in the island of Tortuga, off the north coast of Santo Domingo. They attracted to their body adventurers and sailors from other nations, chiefly Dutch, Portuguese, and English, and thus there sprung up a kind of loose and disorderly "commonwealth, recruited from all nations, and held together by enmity to Spain." From about 1625 this body was taking shape, and forming the rude code of customs and rules which regulated their expeditions.

About the same time more peaceable and orderly settlements began to be formed both by French and English in the West Indies. In 1625 a British Colony was settled in the rich island of Barbadoes, at the south-eastern end of the West Indian chain, remote from the field of action of the buccaneers; and this soon became a prosperous and populous community. More nearly connected with the buccaneers was the little island of St. Kitts, which was occupied by a party

of French and a party of English, who agreed to divide the island between them.

The Spanish Government, though unable to prevent these settlements, refused to recognise them ; thus the West Indies were the scene of an irregular but unceasing war waged by French, Dutch, and English against the Spaniards. In 1630 a treaty of peace was made between England and Spain, but in the West Indies no one regarded this peace ; English settlers and adventurers continued to treat as their natural enemies the Spaniards who claimed exclusive dominion over all those lands (28). Thus the buccaneers drew support and reinforcements from the regular settlements, which in turn were defended and enriched by the exploits of the buccaneers.

In 1640 the French Crown recognised the existence of the buccaneers by an attempt to regulate them, appointing a French Governor of the island of Tortuga. These freebooters were becoming strong enough and important enough to win the attention of European Governments, and a few years later several causes contributed to increase their numbers, their audacity, and their success. The conclusion of the civil war in England and of the Scotch and Irish wars which followed under Cromwell brought them many recruits ; for Cromwell sent 10,000 Scotch and Irish prisoners to work as slaves on the sugar plantations of Barbadoes, many of whom escaped and joined the buccaneers (29).

Their daring and their numbers also increased owing to a striking exploit of one Pierre Legrand, a noted French buccaneer captain. He put out to sea in a leaky and unseaworthy boat and followed an armed Spanish galleon, or warship, belonging to the homeward-bound silver fleet, which had got separated from

her companions. The Spanish captain saw the boat, but took no heed. Soon after, as he was sitting in his cabin playing cards with his officers, a group of half-naked, wild-looking ruffians came tumbling down the companion-ladder, brandishing their knives and shouting threats of death. Legrand and his French companions had leapt on board the Spanish galleon just as their own boat was sinking under their feet; in a moment they beat down all resistance, and now they were in possession of a rich cargo of silver, and a large ship in which they might sail to fresh adventures. This and similar exploits increased the fame and the numbers of the freebooters, whose cruelty and daring were now becoming a terror to the Spanish sailors and to the cities of the islands and of the Spanish Main (30).

But the central event in the history of the English buccaneers and of British dominion in the West Indies was the conquest of Jamaica by the British in 1655. Jamaica was acquired in the following way: Cromwell, having become ruler of the British Isles, sought to win dignity and advantage for Englishmen abroad (31). The arrogant claims of Spain in the West Indies he was not prepared to admit. English ships in West Indian waters were treated as pirates by the Spanish authorities, and English settlers on the islands had been killed or made prisoners or driven out. Cromwell determined to retaliate. Accordingly he sent a fleet and a small army against the Spanish West Indies under Venables and Penn. Recruits were enlisted in Barbadoes and the other English islands, and a large but somewhat disorderly force was thus got together. An attack made upon the Spanish island of Santo Domingo failed, but the expedition sailed on and

took possession of Jamaica, meeting scarcely any resistance (32).

Under British government Jamaica became the headquarters of the English buccaneers. Their marauding exploits were permitted, if not encouraged, by the British authorities in the island; and they regularly brought their booty to be sold in Jamaica, generally spending the proceeds in drink and rioting. Port Royal, the chief harbour of Jamaica, is described as being "always like a Continental mart or fair." The English merchants of Jamaica drew great profits —partly from the rich products of the islands, partly from a great contraband trade carried on with the neighbouring Spanish possessions, and partly from the booty carried to the island by the buccaneers.

These marauders sometimes sailed in small parties, in one or two ships under the command of some captain famous for valour or cruelty. But sometimes they sailed in considerable fleets, carrying large numbers of men, commanded by a leader who was loosely recognised as Admiral or general commander of the buccaneers. They would sail against some Spanish town, often a place possessing no garrison or defences; and then these marauders, careless of danger and maddened with the desire of booty and debauchery, burst into the place, killing, robbing, and burning. They commonly shut up the inhabitants in the churches, and kept them there, starving, sometimes for three or four days, while they searched the town for gold and silver. Unfortunate Spaniards were tortured, to compel them to reveal the supposed hiding-place of treasure, although there was often nothing to reveal; and at last the freebooters,

satiated with riot and booty, would sail away, leaving terror and lamentation behind them.

For some years a Dutchman named Mansveld was Admiral of the buccaneers, and upon his death in 1665 he was succeeded by a Welshman named Henry Morgan, the most famous of the buccaneers, who for five years raided the Spanish possessions. In 1668 Morgan was despatched by the Governor of Jamaica against the Spaniards, who were preparing to attack Jamaica. After a successful raid upon Cuba, he sailed against Portobello, a strongly fortified and garrisoned place. Having captured a number of Spanish monks and nuns, he compelled them to place against the walls the scaling-ladders by which the buccaneers mounted to the assault (33). Thus Portobello was taken, the Spanish Governor refusing to surrender and falling in the assault. And then followed the usual scenes of terror, robbery, and cruelty.

Next year Morgan, again commissioned by the Governor of Jamaica, sailed into the Gulf of Maracaibo, where he sacked and devastated the Spanish settlements. On his return he found three Spanish war-ships barring the exit from the gulf. By means of a fire-ship he set fire to one of them, whereupon the other two hastily fled. But the mouth of the gulf was still commanded by a fort. By a stratagem Morgan led the Spaniards to suppose that he was about to attack the fort from the land. Accordingly they turned all their guns towards that side, and Morgan sailed unmolested past the fort, and so back to Jamaica.

In the following year, 1670, he sailed with a large fleet, carrying 2,000 men, to attempt an enterprise which had baffled Drake—the capture of Panama.

Having first captured a strong castle on the Atlantic coast which commanded the road across the isthmus, he then led his men southwards on a laborious march to the Pacific. A Spanish force which met them was beaten with great slaughter, and then the buccaneers with their usual resistless fury burst into Panama (34). The town was sacked and burnt, and was afterwards re-erected on a different site, where stands the present town of Panama.

But in 1670, the same year in which Morgan took Panama, a treaty was made between England and Spain. By this treaty the Spanish King withdrew his claims of exclusive dominion in America, and recognised the English possession of all places then actually occupied by the English (35). Thus the English Crown obtained undisputed possession of Barbadoes, Jamaica, St. Kitts, and some smaller settlements, together with a rather indefinite claim to a strip on the coast of Honduras, where English logwood-cutters had been at work. The British authorities now had no reason to countenance the buccaneers, and, in fulfilment of the treaty with Spain, they exerted themselves to suppress the freebooters, who were thenceforth treated, not as servants of the Crown, but as pirates and criminals. Morgan was knighted, and as Sir Henry Morgan became Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, where he distinguished himself by the rigour with which he hunted down his former associates and brought them to the gallows.

Some of the English buccaneers now passed into the Pacific, where they simply became pirates, robbing the Spanish ships and towns in time of peace. A description of their proceedings may be found in the journals of William Dampier, a Somersetshire man who served

as a common sailor on a pirate ship, and kept a diary of observations which have considerable historical and scientific value. Others of the English joined the French buccaneers, who continued to riot in the Caribbean Sea for nearly thirty years longer, France and Spain being still at war; in fact this period, after peace was concluded by the English, was the time of greatest activity and success for the French buccaneers, who sacked and pillaged nearly every Spanish town on the islands and on the Main at least once (36).

Other English buccaneers went to Yucatan and Honduras, where they became logwood-cutters: they lived by cutting a valuable wood used in dyeing, called logwood, which they sold for a high price in Jamaica. Their occupation of woodcutting was varied by occasional piracy; but, like their predecessors and companions in the islands, they were the founders of British dominion on the mainland; for, in addition to some vague British claims on the Mosquito coast and the Bay Islands, which were afterwards abandoned, they established the permanent settlement of British Honduras. This little unwholesome settlement of doubtful and precarious value is interesting as being the only part of the American Continent which the English ever permanently won from the Spaniards (37).

But in the islands valuable territories had been won. It is true that these island dependencies look small on the map beside the wide regions afterwards occupied by the English in four continents; and it may be thought that they hardly deserve the time which we have spent upon the strange and violent history of their acquisition (38). But at the time when they were being won these islands were valued far above the settlements which were being made on the North

American continent. In fact down to the close of the eighteenth century the West Indies were regarded as the most precious dependencies of the British Crown, on account of the great advantage of their position both for war and for trade, but still more on account of the richness of their tropical products, and especially the great annual yield of sugar, formerly cultivated by the labour of slaves (39). During the nineteenth century the profit yielded by them has greatly diminished; but they still possess a special interest both from their strange picturesque history and from their peculiar geographical position, lying as they do on the borders of the great inland sea, which may be called the Mediterranean Sea of the New World, stretching between the two continents of the Western Hemisphere.

LECTURE IV

CONQUEST OF CANADA

(1) In speaking of North America we have been dealing so far with countries which, though they were first colonized by Englishmen, do not now belong to the British Empire. But to the north of those countries stretches a region, first colonized by Frenchmen, which by a curious inversion now forms part of the British Empire. The pioneers of French settlement in America were earlier than their English rivals (2), for in 1535 a French explorer named Jacques Cartier entered the mouth of the St. Lawrence River. He spent eight years in exploring that river and the adjoining coasts. But although settlement was planned, and Quebec was marked out as the future capital, no permanent result followed immediately; for some years adventurers were exploring and struggling, but it is doubtful whether any Frenchmen at all remained in Canada during the following half-century (3).

A new chapter opens with the beginning of the seventeenth century. The close of the destructive religious wars in France and the accession of King Henry IV. introduced a period of tranquillity which left opportunity for colonizing efforts. Thus Canada, or New France, came into existence almost at the same time with Virginia and New England (4). These French settlements are divided into two distinct parts—

first the peninsula named by the French Acadie, or Acadia, which the English afterwards called Nova Scotia; and secondly Canada proper—that is to say, the valley of the St. Lawrence.

The earlier and nearer of these two settlements is less important and may be briefly dismissed. It was the scene of picturesque but rather haphazard efforts made by French merchants, by Huguenot emigrants, and by French gentlemen adventurers, who became chieftains of parties contending with one another for mastery. In 1604 a few French adventurers founded the town or post of Port Royal (now Annapolis), which was almost abandoned two years later, but again revived; and then followed for sixty years an intermittent rivalry between French and English, a sort of tug-of-war, in which there was much violence but no very vigorous or persistent efforts on either side. The scanty French settlement at Port Royal was destroyed by English ships and men from Virginia ten years after its first foundation; but the Frenchmen struggled on, though they found new rivals in some Scottish settlers introduced under James I. A kind of border warfare of adventurers and wood-rangers went on between the two peoples, in which the French prevailed on the whole. In 1654 Cromwell sent an expedition which captured Port Royal; but the place was restored by Charles II. to the French, who were thus successful in this preliminary tug-of-war; and thus closes the first chapter in the history of Nova Scotia.

But the larger and more important field of French settlement lay farther west, in the valley of the St. Lawrence. The pioneer and leader of this larger movement was Champlain, a young sailor sprung from a race of fishermen. Champlain is a great figure in

the early history of Canada (5); he devoted nearly thirty years of his life (1608-1635) to the work of exploration and settlement, first in Acadia and afterwards in Canada. In 1608 he founded the town or post of Quebec on a cliff overlooking the St. Lawrence, a site admirably chosen for a capital, and in the following years he explored the country to the south and to the north-west, following the natural waterways in his canoes, living and travelling with the Indians, making friends with the neighbouring tribes, and even joining them in their warlike expeditions (6).

His water journeys to the south led him up the river Richelieu, and so into the long sheet of water which is called after his name, Lake Champlain. This waterway, continued by Lake George, leads almost to the upper waters of the Hudson River, and so forms the historic line of communication repeatedly used by contending armies between Canada and the interior of the English colonies to the south (7). His journeys to the west did not follow the route which looks easiest on the map, for passage through the Great Lakes is barred by the Falls of Niagara. Accordingly, he travelled up the Ottawa River, whose head-waters are close to Lake Nipissing, which communicates with Lake Huron, the central part of the Great Lakes system.

Meantime the actual settlements at Quebec and at one or two smaller places contained a mere handful of inhabitants (8). The fur trade with the Indians, which was the chief business of Canada, only required the labour of very few white men. The Huguenots, who had played a considerable part in the first beginnings both of Acadia and of Canada, were soon excluded altogether from New France; accordingly many of

these people, who might have helped to build up a French colonial empire, found their way to the Dutch Colonies. There was no kind of constitutional government and no trace of popular vitality in New France; the administration was official, despotic, and military in character, and the French settlers were kept under control almost as if they had been soldiers living in barracks. Naturally there was little movement of immigration, and the settlements were always in a poor and struggling condition.

Moreover there was much suffering and disaster from Indian wars (9). It is true that the French were more successful than the English in making friends with the natives. But by making friends of the nearest tribes they unavoidably made enemies of the tribes living beyond, for the Indians were in a constant state of warfare among themselves. Thus the French found themselves at war with the powerful and warlike confederacy of the six nations known as the Iroquois. The little western settlement of Montreal, which was founded in 1642 to provide a more convenient post for the fur trade, was threatened with destruction by Indian attacks, and was only saved by the heroism of sixteen French gentlemen, who sallied out into the woods with a few friendly Indians, and posted themselves within a rude palisade. The Iroquois in overwhelming numbers attacked them repeatedly, and were repulsed. At last all the Frenchmen fell under these assaults; but the Indians were so much struck by their valour and self-sacrifice that they desisted from attacking Montreal (10)

Meantime, even during these years of doubt and disaster, the work of western exploration went on.

This work was pushed forward by two very different sets of men—first, the fur-traders or woodmen known as *voyageurs* or *coureurs de bois* (11), men who lived in the woods among the Indians, and sometimes married Indian wives. Yet, in spite of their barbarous lives, these men carried the French name and some sort of French influence far beyond the regions touched by French settlement The other agents of advance were the missionaries, especially the Jesuits, who journeyed far away into the wilderness, and devoted themselves to preaching among the Indians, often meeting with violent deaths at the hands of the savages Thus, while the English colonists generally confined themselves to the neighbourhood of the coast and of the river estuaries, pursuing their business of trade or agriculture, a few French adventurers and priests were throwing themselves into the vast interior of the continent (12).

The year 1663 opens a fresh chapter in the history of New France. The famous French Minister Colbert made a great effort to restore and support the Colony, being convinced that commerce and naval power might be furthered by successful colonization. Fresh settlers were sent out; Quebec and Montreal were fortified, and capable men were sent out to govern. The white population increased, and the settlements became stronger and richer. Yet New France never became a really vigorous European Colony. The same defects prevailed throughout, and prevented the best kind of progress. Everything was done by the Government, and nothing was left to the people. The King's representative ruled in New France as the King ruled in France (13).

Yet some progress was made in the settlements, and

meantime the great work of interior exploration was vigorously pushed forward, particularly under the strong and capable government of the Viceroy Frontenac. The explorers were traders, missionaries, and gentlemen adventurers. In 1673 a great geographical discovery was made when the Mississippi was reached by white men travelling from the north. These were the trader Joliet and the Jesuit missionary Marquette, who followed the waterways from Lake Michigan to the great river. Marquette afterwards lay down to die in the wilderness (14), but his statue stands in the Capitol at Washington among the figures of those who have helped to build up the United States (15). But the most famous of these explorers was the gentleman adventurer La Salle, who followed up the route traced from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi. After struggling through many difficulties he at last navigated the Mississippi to its mouth, and sailed out upon the Gulf of Mexico in 1682. The region thus discovered he claimed for the King of France under the name of Louisiana, so named from King Louis XIV. After many other journeys, hardships, and adventures, La Salle was at last murdered by mutineers among his own men on the banks of the Mississippi; but the country of Louisiana, which was explored and named by him, was afterwards made a separate French province, which communicated with Europe by the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic.

This new province of Louisiana contained very few white inhabitants; there were merely a few small posts occupied by soldiers or by little parties of settlers. Nevertheless, at the opening of the eighteenth century the French Crown claimed vast territories lying to the north and also to the west of the English Colonies

The English, established along a great stretch of coast, were in possession of the most accessible and most valuable part of the continent, but the great interior seemed marked out for French dominion. The region to be occupied was immense, and in most parts the French and English settlements were separated by forests and hills only inhabited by Indian tribes. Thus no serious or sustained conflicts had yet arisen between the two peoples in America. There had, indeed, been rival claims leading to local quarrels and fighting in two regions. One of these regions was Acadia, or Nova Scotia, whose early history has been already sketched. The other region of friction and dispute was the coast of Hudson's Bay, where an English company was engaged in buying furs from the Indians (16).

This company, called the Hudson's Bay Company, was established in Charles II.'s reign, with Prince Rupert as its first chairman. Every summer the Company sent its ships into the bay, to return with their cargo of furs before the long winter should close up the bay with ice. A few little wooden forts were built on the shore, and in them the Company's agents lived, surrounded by the wilderness and cut off from the outside world by snow and ice for two-thirds of the year (17). Their business was to buy furs from the Indians, and so prepare a cargo to be carried to England by the Company's ships. Although the Company carried on its work far to the north of the French settlements on the St. Lawrence, yet the French regarded these traders as trespassers on their domain. Several times French expeditions from Quebec burnt the English forts and removed the traders. But the Hudson's Bay Company always returned to its business,

which was very profitable. Although the Hudson's Bay Company was preparing the way for British dominion in the north, still these disputes about trade had no great political importance at the time, and did not directly concern the British Government.

But when a great war broke out between England and France in Europe, then began the long struggle in America, to decide the question which people should be dominant in that continent (18). The first act in that struggle is the war which began when the Prince of Orange became King of England as William III. This war is known in American history as King William's War (1689-1697). But in America it was no more than a prologue to the great struggle which was to follow; in fact this war did not prevent the great French Governor Frontenac from pushing forward the work of interior exploration and discovery, extending French influence among the Indians, and enlarging the vast claims of French Empire.

On the other hand the colonists of New England and of New York showed that they could act and fight on their own account (19). Provoked by the attacks of French wood-rangers and Indians who fell upon the border villages, and killed men, women, and children, the English colonists fitted out a small fleet under a colonial captain named Phipps, who took Port Royal in Acadia and then sailed up the St. Lawrence and appeared before Quebec. But here Frontenac received with defiance the summons to surrender, and triumphantly drove off the New Englanders. The French retaliated with successful attacks on Newfoundland, on Hudson's Bay, and on the north of New England. At the peace Port Royal was restored to the French; and thus the

result of this preliminary war was, on the whole, favourable to the French (20).

But the real struggle begins with the opening of the eighteenth century and the outbreak of the war known in America as Queen Anne's War and in Europe as the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713). In America there was not much hard fighting in this war. The Indian attacks still continued, these savages being led by French officers to burn and kill in the inland villages. On the other hand Port Royal was again taken by an expedition from Boston—this time to remain in British hands—and its name was changed to Annapolis (21). But if the war in America produced no great victories, in Europe the case was very different. There, in successive years, Marlborough won a series of great victories over the French; and when peace was made in 1713, the English received large American territories which had been previously claimed by the French (22). By the Treaty of Utrecht, made in that year, Acadia, or Nova Scotia, was ceded to the English; Newfoundland, which had been a kind of debateable land, was recognised as British territory; and the Hudson's Bay Company acquired the distinct right to trade on the shores of Hudson's Bay.

Thus Queen Anne's War had brought large gains to Great Britain and to the British Colonies. Yet a glance at the map shows that the question of continental dominion was far from being finally settled. The decision concerning Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay, important though it was, merely settled a disputed question: the only real acquisition was Nova Scotia. The French were left undisturbed in Canada and in Louisiana to push forward their vast

schemes of Empire, and to prepare for a renewal of the conflict. Having lost Acadia, the French officers now proceeded to strengthen themselves in the adjoining island of Cape Breton, where the strong fortress of Louisbourg was founded, to be the eastern bulwark of New France and to be a menace to the English Colonies lying to the south; and efforts were made to consolidate and strengthen the French settlements in Canada and Louisiana (23).

For thirty years peace was preserved, largely by the efforts of the English Minister, Sir Robert Walpole; but in 1744 Great Britain, already engaged in war with Spain, found herself at war with France also (24). This war is known in Europe as the War of the Austrian Succession, but in North America as King George's War, after the reigning monarch, George II. The French and English colonists, especially in the Atlantic ports and on the frontiers, were now becoming conscious of the struggle which lay before them, and there was much border fighting carried on with great bitterness by frontiersmen and Indians on both sides (25). The French fortress of Louisbourg was a hornets' nest of privateers, who inflicted great loss on British and Colonial trade. Though it was a very strong place, it fell in 1747 before the combined attack of a small British fleet and a colonial army of 4,000 men. But in 1748 peace was made, and—to the great disappointment of the colonists—Louisbourg was restored to the French in exchange for Madras, a place at the other side of the world of which they had never heard.

In fact, this peace of 1848, the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, satisfied neither side. In America it was felt to be merely a breathing-space and not a

final settlement. In the following years there was no real peace on the frontiers, but constant quarrels and skirmishes between colonial pioneers and military outposts. The claims of the French and of the English clashed particularly at two points. One of these was the isthmus connecting Nova Scotia with the mainland. Here there was constant trouble and a good deal of skirmishing over the vexed question whether the mainland region, now known as New Brunswick, belonged to France or to Great Britain. In 1749 Halifax was founded by the British Government as a counterpoise to the French fortress of Louisbourg, and six years later all the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia who refused to take the oath of allegiance to King George were taken from their homes and removed from the country (26).

But a much greater question was the rival claim to dominion in the interior, in the region of hills, forests, and streams lying to the west of the English Colonies. A few English woodmen and colonial pioneers were now making their way to the west and beginning to cross the barrier of the Alleghany Mountains, which run parallel to the coast. Here they came into contact with French officers who were marking out all that interior region for future occupation. The French Governor of Canada at this time was a man of great capacity and energy, who made steady efforts to win for his country a vast territory stretching from Canada to Louisiana. In this way France was to possess all the interior of the continent in an immense sweep from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi, so that the English Colonies should be confined to the Atlantic

coast, and the real sovereignty of the North American continent should be French.

The map shows that the Ohio River, rising some distance to the south of Lake Erie, flows west and south-west to the Mississippi, thus providing a geographical link between the St. Lawrence Valley and Louisiana. The French Governor determined to effect his plans and to check English expansion to the west by erecting a line of French forts along the Ohio, and also along the southern shores of Lakes Erie and Ontario. These forts were to form an impassable line from Canada to Louisiana, barring the way against English advance, and preserving all the interior for future occupation by the French (27). During years of nominal peace (1748-1756), while commissioners sitting in Paris were deliberating about the frontier, Englishmen and Frenchmen in the backwoods of America were struggling to decide the same question on the spot by rougher methods.

The background of this border history is a terrible Indian warfare, in which the English frontiersmen suffered terribly. Both sides used these savages as allies, but the French were more successful and more methodical in their dealings with the Indians. Some little frontier hamlet of wooden huts inhabited by English colonists would be attacked at night by a band of these savages, often led by French officers. Suddenly in the darkness the terrible war-whoop of the red men was heard, and then followed a horrible scene of massacre and destruction—the houses burnt, the people killed, and in the morning nothing left.

The French claim was steadily pursued; it was a matter of policy, designed by governors and carried out

by officers under authority. Thus the French had on their side the advantage of clear foresight and determination. They knew exactly what their objects were, and they set about procuring those objects in a practical, steady fashion, making military preparations for the decisive struggle which was now about to open. The very faults of government which hampered the development of Canada made Canada comparatively strong for war, for the settlers as well as the soldiers were people accustomed to live under authority and to obey the voice of command.

The thirteen English Colonies, on the contrary, were all separate and distinct from one another. There was a good deal of jealousy between them, and it was a difficult and doubtful matter to induce them to act together. Every Colony was largely self-governing, possessing its own Parliament; and the Royal Governor in each Colony was almost powerless to act against the French unless the Assembly would vote money and colonial troops. The colonial Assemblies were very reluctant to raise troops and vote the necessary taxes, partly because they grudged the power of the Royal Governors, partly because they did not realize the danger and importance of this border struggle. Most of the English colonists were living in or near considerable towns planted on the coast or on the river estuaries; there they were engaged in their ordinary business, far removed from these border disputes and scarcely believing that they had any importance (28). The Royal Governors and also some colonial politicians made great efforts to urge the Colonies to union and to active preparations, but without much success. The Colony of Pennsylvania, although its future prospects were closely endangered, was espe-

cially apathetic and hard to move. Benjamin Franklin, who belonged to that Colony, did all in his power to rouse the people and the Assembly to a sense of their danger, and to urge them to vigorous action. He was the owner of a newspaper, the *Philadelphia Gazette*, and every copy of this newspaper for some months in 1754 bore a rude engraving, showing a snake cut into pieces, marked with the initial letters of the thirteen Colonies, and underneath the inscription "Unite or die."

Thus the military advantage, both in strategical position and in actual preparations and ready means of attack or defence, were on the side of the French; but, on the other hand, the English had a great advantage in population, in wealth, and in the essential strength and resources of vigorous and growing communities. It is said that in 1750, on the eve of the decisive struggle, there were only 80,000 white men in the whole of the French settlements in North America, from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to that of the Mississippi, whereas the English colonists numbered over a million (29). Moreover, whenever open war should begin between the monarchies of France and of Great Britain, then British superiority at sea would give an enormous advantage; for the French advance, being the work of soldiers and officials, required constant support and reinforcements from France; and while the British held command of the sea, it was a doubtful and difficult matter to send reinforcements across the Atlantic.

Before any declaration of open war between the two monarchies in Europe, already in America the "little warfare" of frontiersmen and Indians had grown into more serious fighting (30). In 1753 a young

officer of Virginian militia named George Washington was sent by the Royal Governor of Virginia to remonstrate with a French officer who was fortifying a road from Lake Erie to the upper part of the Ohio. The Virginians, on their side, built a fort where now stands the busy town of Pittsburg, but this English fort was captured by the French. A stronger French fort was built in its place, named Fort Duquesne, and after a good deal of fighting Washington was obliged to surrender to a large French force.

The Governments of France and England were made aware by these events that in time of nominal peace serious hostilities were going on in America, and the English Government determined to check this deliberate French advance into territory which was claimed as belonging to the British. In 1755 General Braddock, an English officer of experience in European wars, was sent out to Virginia. With 1,200 men, partly British soldiers, partly colonial militia, he marched west over the Alleghanies to attack Fort Duquesne. A few miles from the fort he fell into an ambush of French and Indians. His army was overwhelmed, and the greater part of the men and officers were killed; a remnant of survivors was led back into safety by Washington.

In the following year, 1756, war was formally declared between France and Great Britain. During the first two years of the war little progress was made. In the inland campaigns the French were, on the whole, successful, and there was much grumbling and indignation in England over these unexpected defeats. But at last came the consoling news of a victory, which was received in England with an outburst of joy. In July, 1758, the strong fortress of Louisbourg fell before

a British attack, and 6,000 Frenchmen remained prisoners (31).

The helm of State was now held in England by a great statesman, whose mind was possessed by a firm belief in the great destiny which lay before his country beyond the seas, and by a strong determination to do all that was in his power to advance that destiny. This was the elder William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, whose name should appear among the first on the list of those who have built up the Empire. He was a man who possessed not only wisdom to direct, but also strength and spirit to command. He contrived to infuse something of his own indomitable spirit and faith into British commanders by land and sea in all parts of the world, and thus he led his countrymen to an unexampled series of triumphs (32).

Under his guidance a triple attack was planned against Canada. Two bodies of British troops were to advance from the south against Montreal, but the principal part of the plan was the expedition which was to sail up the St. Lawrence against Quebec. Pitt singled out for the command of this expedition a young officer, only thirty-three years of age, who had distinguished himself in the siege of Louisbourg, James Wolfe, a man of weak frame and delicate constitution, but so full of spirit and activity that he was said to be "all life" (33).

The site of Quebec is very strong by nature. In expectation of attack it was strongly fortified, a hundred cannon being mounted on its walls. The city itself and the adjoining shore of the river were held by a numerous army fresh from victories over the English in the interior, and now preparing to meet the English who had been victorious at Louisbourg (34). The

French commander was Montcalm, a brilliant soldier, worthy to meet Wolfe as adversary (35).

Wolfe brought his ships safely up the river past the guns of Quebec; he battered the town with his cannon. But the task which lay before him seemed impossible: Quebec appeared to be unapproachable and impregnable. At last the British commander resolved on an attempt which might seem desperate. On the north bank of the river, above the city, Wolfe observed a small footpath ascending the cliff, and by counting the tents at the top he knew that the summit was not strongly guarded by the French (36). On the night of September 12, 1759, the ships of the British fleet got out their boats. The boats were filled with soldiers, and, with Wolfe himself in command, they were silently rowed down the river to the place chosen for the attempt—the place which has been known since as Wolfe's Cove. Some British soldiers landed, climbed the cliff, and overpowered the few French soldiers guarding the summit. The rest of the British followed, and in the morning there was an army of 4,000 British on the Heights of Abraham behind Quebec. Montcalm had been taken by surprise (37).

In the battle which followed both commanders, the Frenchman and the Englishman, fell; but Wolfe fell in the moment of victory. This victory brought the capture of Quebec, and the capture of Quebec brought the conquest of Canada. Wolfe's successor in command and other British commanders followed up and completed the work of Wolfe. Quebec was held with some difficulty against French attempts to retake the place. Montreal fell before the attack of British armies advancing from the south. When peace was made in 1763 the conquest thus made was recognised by

the French, and Canada passed finally into British possession.

The conquest of Canada was not the only achievement of this great war; nor was the conquest of Canada due only to the success of British arms in America. Everywhere Pitt had organized victory, and everywhere the commanders sent out by him had achieved victory. "I will conquer America in Germany," had been Pitt's exclamation, and in truth the conquest of Canada had been attained partly by great victories over the French in Europe. Moreover it was during these same years that Clive was carrying to its triumphant conclusion his great career in India. The Battle of Plassey, which secured British supremacy in Bengal, was fought two years before Wolfe's action at Quebec.

Great Britain had attained an unexampled and almost incredible series of triumphs by land and sea in all parts of the world, and at the close of the war the British Monarchy and Empire appeared to hold in firm tranquillity a position of power and dignity scarcely to be paralleled.

LECTURE V

ORIGIN OF BRITISH DOMINION IN INDIA

1600-1785

CANADA (1) contains to-day somewhat more than five million inhabitants, Australia somewhat less than five millions. India contains about 300 millions, nearly three-fourths of the total population of the British Empire. Moreover, the inhabitants of Canada and of Australia are mainly white men of European origin, while India has scarcely any permanent white population. Again, Canada and Australia were waste and barbarous countries possessing no history before the coming of white settlers from Europe, whereas the history of India goes farther back than that of England. The literature of India is as old as that of Europe, and the civilization of India, though very different in kind, is quite as ancient as the civilization of Europe (2). Many centuries before Europeans found their way round the Cape to India, the peoples of India had practised the arts of life in agricultural villages, and also in great and splendid cities. Thus it is evident that the history of the British in India is a story entirely different from that of *Colonies* such as Canada or Australia. In this lecture we have to deal not with colonization, but with the spread, first of commerce, then of influence, and lastly of dominion. The story of Europeans in India is the story not of settlement in

new countries, of emigration to empty or half-empty savage lands, but it is a story of conquest in ancient lands possessing an abundant population and a venerable civilization of their own (3).

In fact, the growth of the Empire follows two distinct paths : first, there is the path of colonization, which means the overflow of European population into wide countries in temperate regions fit for the habitation of white men ; secondly, there is the path of dominion and of conquest, whereby large alien populations have been made subject to the influence and the sway of Europeans, generally in hot countries unsuitable for the permanent settlement of white men (4). In the first four lectures we have been tracing the first of these paths, and watching the overflow of European populations and their settlement in America. In this lecture we must turn to the other path, and attempt to picture to ourselves a different movement, equally vast and equally exciting—namely, that spread of influence and of dominion which has brought under British sway great Asiatic countries possessing 300 millions of inhabitants.

The clear distinction between the history of India and the history of the Colonies must never be forgotten. Canada has no history apart from Europe. India has a long history almost untouched by Europe. The story of the Colonies belongs to English history, whereas the story of India belongs to Asiatic history (5). The work of the English in India is comprised in three centuries (1600-1900), and only forms the latest chapter in the long story of India. In this lecture we must confine ourselves to the work of the English ; but it must be remembered that the real and full history of India should deal with the inhabitants

of India, and not merely with their latest conquerors (6).

In the first lecture we spoke of the two great events which at the close of the fifteenth century opened the way to European Empire beyond the seas. One of these events was the discovery of the New World by the Spaniards: the other was the discovery of the sea-route to India by the Portuguese. In 1498 the Portuguese fleet under Vasco da Gama sailed round the Cape of Good Hope, and made its way across the Indian Ocean to Calicut, on the West coast of Southern India. (7) The Portuguese came as traders in search of the precious spices, chiefly pepper and cloves, from which enormous profits were to be made; but they remained as conquerors and crusaders. They were the first to discover that a handful of disciplined European soldiers was a match for a large native army, and that a secure footing and political power could be won by joining in wars and alliances among the native Princes (8).

Along the West coast there was a number of small kingdoms and principalities, each ruled by a separate chief; and the Portuguese, by making friends with some of these Princes and waging war against others, got possession of several places on the West coast, fixing their headquarters at Goa, which still remains a Portuguese possession in the twentieth century. But in the sixteenth century the Eastern Empire of the Portuguese was very extensive, and was admirably situated for trade; for it comprised not only these places on the Indian coast, but a number of settlements on both sides of the Indian Ocean, from the Red Sea to the Molucca Islands. On the east coast of Africa they held various posts; and in Asia

they were established at Aden, also further east on the Persian Gulf, at several points on the west coast of India, in the Malay Peninsula, and at many places in the East Indian Archipelago. For a century no European flag appeared in those seas except that of Portugal; they held the monopoly of the rich sea-borne trade between Europe and the East Indies. Every year the royal squadron of Portuguese carracks rounded the Cape of Good Hope, homeward bound for Lisbon, heavily laden with pepper, cloves, cinnamon, nutmeg, and ginger, the precious spices which brought enormous profits to the Crown of Portugal (9).

But towards the close of the sixteenth century the power of Portugal began to wane. So small a people were hardly able to sustain permanently so vast a frame of Empire. The horrible cruelties of the Portuguese made them hateful to their subjects and to their neighbours in India; and the Crown of Portugal having passed into the hands of the King of Spain in 1580, the Eastern trade of Portugal was exposed to attacks from the enemies of Spain. The most bitter and persistent of these enemies were the Dutch, who were also a prudent, industrious, and commercial people. In 1595 a Dutch fleet sailed round the Cape to the East Indies. The Dutch soon established a trade in spices; they made alliances with native Princes in the East Indian Islands, and seated themselves at posts convenient for trade. The Portuguese monopoly was broken, while the Dutch were laying the first foundations of that rich East Indian Empire which they still possess (10).

But even before the first appearance of the Dutch some English merchant ships had rounded the Cape and reached the East Indies. In the first lecture it was shown how the effort to find a sea-route to India

and the Spice Islands was the origin and motive of Western exploration, and how this quest led to discovery and settlement in America. From Cabot to Frobisher several English expeditions vainly sought for a north-west passage to Asia round the North American continent; and Sir Hugh Willoughby lost his life in the attempt to find a north-east passage through the frozen seas round the north of Asia. Now, after the lapse of a whole century, the Dutch, the English, and the French all chose to follow the route which had been traced by the Portuguese mariners round the Cape of Good Hope. Among these three rivals of the Portuguese the Dutch were at first the most successful, but they asked such high prices for pepper that a number of English merchants determined to trade on their own account (11). In 1600 the London East India Company was formed, which received a charter from Queen Elizabeth. This notable event may be regarded as the first step towards British expansion in the East. About the same time chartered companies for Eastern trade were founded in France and Holland. Thus, just about the time when English settlement in North America was beginning, these three maritime countries were entering on the path of commercial expansion and rivalry in Asia (12).

At first the Dutch were the strongest competitors. They completely broke the Portuguese monopoly, established themselves firmly in the Moluccas, and planted "factories," or trading-posts, in Sumatra and Java, in Ceylon, in India, on the Persian Gulf, and on the Red Sea. The early English voyages were mostly made to the East Indian Islands, and the English captains often had to fight or evade the Dutch, who

attempted to impede their trade. In 1623 a few Englishmen trading at Amboyna, in the Spice Islands, were seized by the Dutch, put to the torture, and beheaded; and in the following years the English trade suffered much from Dutch hostility. The result was that the English traders left the islands, and turned their attention to the mainland or continent of India, where their future successes were to be achieved (13).

The English traders settled themselves at three places on the mainland—first at Surat, on the north-west, a settlement which was the beginning of the vast and rich Presidency of Bombay; secondly at the mouth of the Hugli River in Bengal, near the place where the town of Calcutta afterwards sprang up, to be the capital of the Presidency of Bengal and of all India; and thirdly at some small places on the Coromandel Coast, settlements which were the beginning of the Presidency of Madras. Thus the triple division of the British Empire in India dates from the beginning of English settlement. But in those early days the English came not as conquerors and masters, but as humble traders from abroad; they came as strangers begging permission from the Mahometan Princes of those lands to settle on the coasts and to pursue their trade (14). So far from being masters of Indian soil, they were rather subjects of the Mahometan Emperor ruling at Delhi, or of the Governors who ruled like independent Princes in Bengal and in the Carnatic. They paid rent for the trading posts which they held, and they carried on their business only by favour of these Mahometan potentates.

But in the unstable and divided condition of India these trading-posts gradually became in a manner political settlements. It must be remembered that

India is not a single country, but rather a small continent comprising many countries, peoples, and tribes, speaking many different languages. Not one of these countries has ever formed a nation or a State as we understand the words in Europe (15). They were generally ruled by despots possessing absolute power, whose chief notion of government was to collect taxes, to maintain armies, and to keep a luxurious Court.

A Mahometan Emperor, known to Englishmen as the Great Mogul, was supposed to be master of the greater part of India, but his Viceroys and Governors were practically almost independent Princes. Privileges could be obtained sometimes from the Emperor, sometimes from these smaller Princes, by purchase or by favour; and thus these patient and steady traders from abroad came to be regarded as owners or permanent tenants of the posts which they occupied (16). In 1687 the East India Company actually made war on the Mogul Emperor ruling at Delhi, the nominal lord of all India; and from that time the directors of the Company deliberately aimed at shaking off the supremacy of the native authorities, and turning their trading settlements into a political power. Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta were all fortified, and the Company maintained some troops of its own.

Meantime, however, the British Government took no part whatever in this Indian expansion, and the Crown claimed no share in the acquisitions which were being made. The whole work was accomplished by the Company, and the Company was the owner of everything which had been gained. In the course of the seventeenth century several rival companies were founded in London to engage in the Indian trade, but these all amalgamated with the original Company (17).

Thus a single association of merchants controlled the entire British trade with the East, and allowed no other English traders to sail those seas. This monopoly may seem unjust; but it was probably necessary, for only a strong corporation could have wealth and power enough to obtain privileges from the Mahometan Princes, and also to cope with the rivalry of the Dutch. But thanks to this monopoly, and the wealth and power which it brought, the Company at the opening of the eighteenth century was beginning to hold and rule territorial possessions in India (18).

Meantime the French East India Company, supported by the Government of France, was also firmly established in India. Towards the close of the seventeenth century their trading-posts began to be converted, like those of the English, into territorial possessions; and their headquarters were at Pondicherry, on the Carnatic, about 100 miles from Madras. Yet the object both of French and of English was trade, and it was for the sake of trade that they sought to establish and extend some kind of political power.

Thus at the opening of the eighteenth century there were two groups of foreign traders firmly settled on the coasts of India. Neither of them aimed so far at conquest or empire, but the opportunity of empire came almost unsought in the break-up of the Mogul Empire, and the consequent disruption and confusion which prevailed through India (19).

And here it should be noted that the first conquerors of India were not Europeans coming by sea. Before the English obtained a foot of land in the East, India had been invaded by a succession of Asiatic conquerors coming through the Himalaya passes from the north-west; and when the English first reached India most of its

peoples were ruled by strangers, descendants of foreign conquerors, Princes alien both in race and religion to the peoples which they ruled. For the mass of the people were Hindus, while the Princes and rulers were Mahometans (20). About the time of the Norman conquest of England the first Mahometan invasion of India took place, when these fanatical crusaders, the followers of the Arabian Prophet, carried the sword and the Koran through the mountain passes into the great plain of Hindustan or Northern India.

But the Mogul Empire, which was the dominant power of India in the early days of the Company, dates from the sixteenth century (21). The greatest of the Mogul Emperors was Akbar, a contemporary of Queen Elizabeth of England. Established in his magnificent Court at Delhi, he consolidated his sway over the whole of Northern India. After his death the Mogul Empire, though it did not become stronger, became larger, and it reached its greatest extent under Aurungzebe, who ruled for fifty years (1658-1707), and extended his sway over the greater part of the Deccan (22), the great triangular peninsula of Southern India, with its high tableland bordered by strips of coast plain on east and west.

But even while Aurungzebe was pushing his conquests southwards, his Empire was in a state of decay. The Viceroys of the outlying provinces governed and misgoverned almost uncontrolled, while in the south-west a new military power was springing up which threatened the supremacy of the Mogul in the west. This was the Hindu confederacy of the Mahratas, which was formed by a robber chief, who led his followers from their hill-forts and villages to attack their Mahometan masters and

neighbours (23). The Emperor maintained his power only by constant expeditions and by royal progresses throughout his dominions. Yet he was wealthier than any other King in the world, and in outward show he was also the most powerful of monarchs, having an annual revenue of £90,000,000, and an army of 400,000 men.

But when Aurungzebe died, in 1707, the loose and ill-constructed frame of empire began to fall to pieces. The Mahometan Governors and Viceroys of provinces now founded hereditary princely families; every one of them kept a luxurious Court and a rapacious army, caring little or nothing for the welfare of his despised Hindu subjects (24) Invaders from the north, Afghans and Persians, shook the very central seat of the Empire; and meantime the leaders of the Mahrata hordes, men who were half robber-captains, half Princes, continually issued forth from the western mountains, attacking the Mahometan Princes, and carrying robbery and devastation not only to the centre of the Deccan, but even across the rich river plains of Hindustan. This state of confusion, disorder, and internecine rivalry among the native authorities gave an irresistible opportunity to the European traders to advance their own power by mixing in these quarrels. "There was everything to invite and nothing to prevent their taking a hand in the incessant fighting for independence and territory among the Princes and chiefs, who had now discovered the weight of European metal on the war-field, and were quite ready to pay handsomely for the loan of it. The Companies, indeed, found little difficulty in striking a bargain with men whose best title to rulership was the power to take and hold, whose life and the existence

of their principality were continually staked upon the issue of a single battle, capable usurpers with no right, rightful heirs with no capacity, military leaders who had seized a few districts, Maratha captains or Afghan adventurers at the head of some thousand horsemen, provincial Viceroys who were trying to found dynasties" (25).*

The Mahometan Governor of Bengal now became an independent Prince, in whose territories the French post of Chandernagore and the British post of Calcutta were situated. The Deccan also broke away from the Mogul Empire, and split up into five separate kingdoms, although one potentate called the Nizam claimed authority over the whole region. Thus it was on the Carnatic coast that the path of empire was first opened to the European traders, to the French at Pondicherri, and to the British at Madras. Down to 1744—Great Britain and France being at peace—the two Companies, French and English, pursued a commercial rivalry without hostility to one another; but already during this period of peace both Companies were attempting to strengthen themselves by alliance with native Princes, and by aiding pretenders to native thrones.

In this policy the French were at first more persistent and more successful. The fortified town of Pondicherri became a power in Southern India, and during a Maratha invasion in 1740 the Mahometan Princes of the Carnatic actually took refuge behind its walls. In the following year the famous Frenchman Dupleix became Governor of Pondicherri and head of the French settlements. This active, ambitious, and far-seeing man deliberately entered upon a policy of expansion

* From "The Rise of the British Dominion in India," by Sir Alfred Lyall, K.C.B., D.C.L.

and conquest (26). He assumed the title and the pomp of an Eastern Prince, and by negotiations with the native potentates prepared a secure ground for the French against British rivalry.

In 1744 war broke out between Great Britain and France. This brought the two East India Companies into hostility with one another; and then the struggle between France and Great Britain for predominance in India began—at the same time as the decisive struggle between these two Powers in America. The war of 1844-1848 was indecisive, the advantage on the whole being on the side of the French, who took Madras, which was, however, restored to the British by the peace of 1848. The credit gained by the French in this war made it easier for Dupleix to use the years of nominal peace that followed in strengthening the French position, and preparing for the struggle which he saw to be inevitably approaching. He enlisted native soldiers drilled by French officers, and aimed at making the French Company the predominant power in the Carnatic. Upon the death of the Nizam two claimants competed for his throne; there were also two claimants for the principality of the Carnatic. In these wars of succession Dupleix took one side, while the English Company took the other; and thus the two Companies, by sending their troops to aid the native armies, became involved in a kind of unofficial war against one another, while their Governments in Europe were at peace. In this "War in the Carnatic" the English were, on the whole, successful; for Dupleix, though a statesman and diplomatist, was no soldier, while the English Company was served by two capable leaders—Lawrence and Clive (27).

We now first meet with the name which stands foremost in the early history of the British Empire in India—the name of Clive, a man who was fully equal to Dupleix as a statesman, and was also one of the greatest soldiers ever produced by England, possessing, it was said, "heaven-born genius for war," for he had had no military training. At this time Clive was a young clerk in the Company's employment, but on the outbreak of this little local war he exchanged the pen for the sword, and achieved the famous exploit which first brought him fame: this was the daring seizure and stubborn defence of Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic (28). An English force, aiding a native army, was besieged in Trichinopoli by a far stronger army, aided by the French. The case seemed hopeless: but Clive suggested that the place could be relieved by striking a counter blow at the enemy. He was allowed to carry out his own plan. He marched rapidly with a small force of Sepoys upon Arcot, which fell into his hands. A large force was detached from the army besieging Trichinopoli to drive out the intruders from Arcot. But, inspired by Clive's determined courage, his starving troops stubbornly defended the weak and crumbling fortifications of Arcot. From that time the war was on the whole favourable to the English; but in 1854 the two Companies were compelled by their Governments to make peace, leaving the real issue still unsettled.

The interest of our story now shifts to Bengal, where the English held Calcutta, the French Chandernagore, and the Dutch Chinsurah, all three places situated on the river Hoogly. In 1756 the Governor of Calcutta received orders from home to strengthen the defences, as war with France was imminent (29). A young

Mahometan named Surajah Dowlah had just succeeded to the sovereignty of Bengal, a mere boy of savage and suspicious temper. He commanded the English to cease fortifying Calcutta. Upon receiving the reply that the fortifications were against the French, the jealous tyrant, thinking himself insulted, marched with a large army against the open town of Calcutta (30). The Governor and many of the English escaped in ships; Surajah Dowlah entered Calcutta; 146 English prisoners were thrust in the heat of a summer night into a small prison-room known as the Black Hole of Calcutta; in the morning only twenty-three were left alive. Five months later a squadron under Clive and Admiral Watson arrived in the Hoogly. Calcutta was retaken, and Surajah Dowlah, roughly handled by Clive's troops, fled to his capital of Moorshedabad.

War had now broken out between France and Great Britain, and all available troops were needed for the struggle in the Deccan. It was necessary to settle the affairs of Bengal, and yet it was impossible to leave the capricious tyrant Surajah Dowlah unchecked. Clive had recourse to the methods which are usual in the treacherous and cruel atmosphere of Eastern courts (31). He supported a conspiracy among the Prince's Ministers to depose him, and place his commander-in-chief Mir Jafir on the throne. The negotiations between Clive and the conspirators were carried on through a Hindu named Omichund, who, when the plot was complete, threatened to reveal it to Surajah Dowlah unless he received the promise of a vast sum as the price of silence—the promise to be included in the treaty between the Company and Mir Jafir. To deceive Omichund Clive made two copies of this treaty,

one on red paper containing this promise, the other on white paper omitting it. The red treaty was a trick, and was only shown to Omichund in order to keep him quiet. The sum promised to him was never paid.

Clive now sent to Surajah Dowlah a proud message which was practically a declaration of war. On June 23, 1757, his little army of 3,000 men, one-third of them Europeans, met Surajah Dowlah's army of 50,000 men at Plassey. The action was a rout rather than a battle; the native army fled in headlong confusion. Surajah Dowlah was dethroned, and was afterwards put to death by his successor Mir Jafir, who was installed by Clive as Prince of Bengal, to rule as the creature of the English (32). All power was really in the hands of Clive; an immense sum was paid to him by Mir Jafir from the treasury of Bengal; other Englishmen received large gifts, and heavy compensation was paid to the Company. For over two years Clive ruled in Bengal, successfully repelling native invasion. When he left India in 1760, British power in Bengal was firmly established, the native ruler of the country being in fact subject to the servants of the English Company.

Meantime English and French had been struggling for supremacy in the Carnatic (1758-1760). Two active and ambitious French officers, Bussy and Lally, were striving to uphold French influence, and to carve out great personal careers for themselves; but they were heavily handicapped by the same causes which hampered Montcalm and the other French leaders in North America. These causes were the strength of the British at sea, and the great victories over the French won by British armies in Germany, and

—more important still—by a British fleet in Quiberon Bay on the coast of France (33). The lofty spirit, the magnificent policy, and the large-hearted faith of the great English Minister, William Pitt, inspired confidence and resolution in English commanders and rulers in India, in America, and in Europe, while France was sunk under the rule of an idle King and a dissolute Court. English commanders fought and worked sure of approval and support, while the brave Frenchmen who fought for their country in India returned home one after another to disgrace, misery, or death.

But the decisive point was the British supremacy at sea (34). Bussy and Lally struggled and laboured in India isolated, unable to draw supplies and reinforcements from France, or to repair their strength as their forces were wasted by war, for no French ship could safely navigate the ocean. On the other hand, the British kept up unbroken communication with England, and could constantly renew their strength by supplies from home. In fact the conflict between English and French for supremacy in India was not really fought out in India any more than the conflict in America was fought out in America. It was a world-wide contest, decided by a world-wide policy. The details of the struggle in the Carnatic need not be related (35). The final and decisive event was the victory of Wandewash won by Sir Eyre Coote in 1760.

Thenceforth the political power of the French was extinct both in Bengal and in the Carnatic. In both these provinces the native Princes were controlled by the English Company, which held a practical supremacy. But although supremacy had been won, no

kind of orderly government had yet been established. The Carnatic and Bengal were still in form native principalities ruled by Asiatic princes. Although the Company held the real power, in theory the English were not rulers at all, but merely tenants of the native rulers, and no method of British administration had yet been established (36). The result was that Clive's departure in 1760 was followed by five years of scandalous and iniquitous oppression and misgovernment. The servants of the Company were underpaid, and in consequence they tried to enrich themselves not only by private trading but also by extortion and robbery. Attempts at revolt and invasion were successfully met by the energy of British officers; but the inhabitants of Bengal have probably never suffered worse misgovernment than during these first years of British supremacy.

In 1765 Clive returned to Bengal as President or Governor appointed by the Company. He set himself vigorously to perform two tasks—first to check corruption, extortion, and abuses by reforming the internal administration of the Company, and, secondly, to solidify and extend the political power of the British in Bengal, and also in the neighbouring provinces of Orissa, Behar and the Circars (37). The second of these tasks was perhaps the easier of the two. Clive made peace with his native neighbours; and by agreement with the Mogul Emperor he obtained for the Company the right of receiving the entire revenues of these provinces, a right which was sure to lead inevitably to complete political dominion, for it is evident that the power which receives the taxes cannot fail to be master of the country. In these proceedings Clive showed himself a strong and prudent

statesman; but he was determined not to advance beyond these limits. He told the directors that the whole of the Mogul Empire was at their disposal if they chose to take it, but he anxiously urged them not to enter upon so vast a scheme of imperial expansion; and in order to limit and secure the British dominions, he determined to uphold the native kingdom of Oudh as a friendly barrier-state to the west of Bengal (38).

But even more difficult and more honourable than this great work of statesmanship was the internal reform carried out by Clive in the work of the Company's English servants—a reform carried out in the face of the most bitter opposition and discontent among almost all the Englishmen in Bengal. Clive sternly and vigorously suppressed extortion, peculation, and illicit gain; and when 200 British officers resigned, hoping to paralyze the administration and check reform, Clive accepted their resignation, rigorously punished some of them, and readmitted others on their complete submission. In 1767 Clive left India for the last time, leaving the affairs of Bengal settled. Order and rule had been introduced into the administration, and the substance of Imperial power over Bengal had been placed in the hands of the East India Company.

But there still remained two steps which were necessary in order to complete and consolidate the work of Clive. First, it was necessary that the Company should openly and candidly undertake the government of Bengal, instead of keeping up the cumbrous and mischievous system of ruling through a native Prince—a system which gave rise to much abuse after Clive's departure. Secondly, it was necessary that the British Crown and Parliament should recognise the existence

of British sovereignty in the three Indian Presidencies, and should extend the authority and the protection of the British Government over these newly acquired dominions; for it was clearly unsatisfactory that a trading Company should continue permanently to exercise Imperial authority uncontrolled (39). Both these reforms were made during the Government of Warren Hastings (1772-1785), whose name stands only second to that of Clive on the roll of the great men who have made British India.

Hastings had served the Company for over twenty years, and under Clive had earned honourable distinction as a faithful and high-minded subordinate, when in 1772 he was sent out by the Company as Governor of Bengal. His first notable act was to remove the treasury from the native Capital to the English settlement of Calcutta, which thereby became the Capital of Bengal and the seat of Government —a Government carried on by the British. Two years later the second reform was made by an Act of the British Parliament which set up a Governor-General of India and a Council, nominated, not by the Company, but by the British Government. This "Regulating Act" of 1774 in a manner closes the first chapter in the history of British India, since it marks the point at which the British Government recognised and accepted a British Empire in India. But something must be said of the work of Warren Hastings, who remained in India eleven years longer—down to 1785—as first Governor-General of India, ruling in Bengal, but also holding a somewhat vague authority over the British settlements at Bombay and in the Carnatic (40).

Two great tasks lay before him: first, to purify,

regulate, and strengthen British administration in Bengal; and, secondly, to settle satisfactory relations with the native dynasties, or "Country Powers" of India. In both these tasks, in domestic as in foreign policy, he marked the way for his successors, although in the internal affairs of Bengal he was much hampered by constant quarrels in his Council; and in foreign affairs two serious wars were brought upon him by the errors of others. First, the Government of Bombay became involved in hostilities with the Mahratas, the strongest native power in India, which gained some decided successes over the British. Hastings, though he disapproved of the war, threw all his energy into it, and by means of the forces of Bengal he won a decided victory and secured an honourable peace (41). Secondly, the errors and indiscretion of British officials in the Carnatic brought down upon them the hostility of the two most powerful Princes of the Deccan—Hyder Ali, Prince of Mysore, and the Nizam who ruled in Hyderabad. Again Hastings intervened, sending the veteran Sir Eyre Coote to relieve Madras; and this southern war was also brought to an honourable conclusion.

From the beginning of his Government Hastings was much hampered by want of money; and he was afterwards fiercely denounced in England for the methods by which he relieved these wants, and especially for hiring out his troops to the King of Oudh to aid in the conquest of a province. The rights of these questions cannot here be discussed; we can only dwell upon the great results achieved during the Government of Warren Hastings.

Those results were achieved during a time of terrible danger and stress to Great Britain and to the British

dominions. For while Hastings was ruling in India, the British Colonies in North America revolted and made themselves independent (42); and, moreover, Great Britain became involved in a world-wide struggle against France and Spain. Once more the supremacy of the British in India depended on the strength of Great Britain at sea and on the gallantry and skill of her naval commanders. Hyder Ali was supported by the French in his attacks on the Carnatic; the great French Admiral, Suffren, making the French island of Mauritius his base, persistently made bold and skilful efforts to break down the British naval force in the Bay of Bengal, and to open the way for attacks upon the British settlements. But again and again, in the course of repeated fights, he was foiled by the stubborn tenacity of the English Admiral, Sir Edward Hughes.

This support and defence by sea was necessary to the success of the British in their two land wars. Nevertheless, Hastings deserves the fullest credit for the splendid vigour and skill with which he carried the British cause through these two wars against the Mahratas and against Hyder Ali (43). In 1702 that brave chieftain died, urging his son Tippoo to make peace with the irresistible English. When Hastings left India in 1785, the British were indisputably the first power in India. Hastings and his commanders had brought two wars against the strongest native powers in India to an honourable and signal victory; and the future of the British dominion in India was assured. Disaster and failure in North America had been in a manner retrieved by the laying of this foundation of a great Empire in Asia.

The later history of British India from 1785 will be treated in a second course of lectures. But we may take this opportunity of sketching the modern expansion of British India by means of some maps (44-46) showing the extent of the Empire at different dates down to 1857. The story of that expansion will be told later.

LECTURE VI

THE SEPARATION OF THE THIRTEEN COLONIES AND THE RISE OF THE NEW EMPIRE

(I) In the fourth lecture we were watching British soldiers and British colonists fighting side by side against the French to win the dominion of a continent for the Anglo-Saxon race. A dozen years after victory had been achieved, British soldiers and British colonists were facing one another almost on the same battlefields; and twenty years after the conquest of Canada the Empire was split into two parts by the successful revolt of the British Colonies in North America. It is our business in this lecture to examine some of the causes which led to this change.

As long as the French were in possession of Canada the British Colonies had strong reasons for attachment to the Mother Country; for the power of Great Britain was a necessity to them in the struggle against the power of France. Indeed, first Louisbourg and afterwards Quebec had been taken by British forces unaided by Colonials. Now that the French Crown was deprived of Canada, this motive of colonial loyalty was gone. There was no longer a threatening rival on the frontier; the power of Great Britain was no longer felt to be necessary for the defence of the Colonies. Without imputing to the colonists any mean calculation of profit, we may recognise that the removal of this

external pressure of French rivalry left free play to any motives tending to independence, and brought into prominence grievances which had previously caused little trouble (2).

In several of the Colonies, and especially in Massachusetts, the largest of the Puritan Colonies, there were some long-standing and continual causes of friction. The Navigation Acts, which amounted to a considerable tax on trade, although they were not strongly resented, were nevertheless felt as a grievance and as an irritating kind of interference in the affairs of the Colonies.

There were also certain long-standing disputes about taxation, and about the rights of the colonial assemblies to control the revenue. On the other hand, it had never been seriously disputed that the British Government had the right to tax colonial trade (3). But from the very beginning of their history the Puritan colonists of New England had been marked by a stubborn spirit of independence and a determination to act for themselves. Although their British feelings were sincere, those feelings were not strong enough to stand a severe strain or to accept any measures which might disturb their habits of local action.

There was a decided difference between the colonial point of view and the British or official point of view; and this difference, so far from being reduced, had been emphasized during the wars against the French (4). To the British these wars were European and national struggles. They were fought out in three continents and on many seas, and the fighting in America was only part of a world-wide struggle. But to the colonist campaigns in Europe and in India seemed less important; the essential thing was the American fight

against the rivals who were on the spot. Thus when Louisbourg, having been captured for the first time largely by a colonial force, was restored to the French in 1748 in exchange for Madras, there was natural indignation in the Colonies. In 1763, after Wolfe's victory and death, and after the great sacrifices and efforts made in the conquest of Canada, the British Ministry actually proposed to restore Canada to the French in exchange for the small West Indian island of Guadaloupe. It is easy to imagine how the colonists would have felt about such an exchange (5).

Moreover, in the recent wars the British regular troops and the colonial militia, though fighting side by side, had not learnt to love one another. The British officers often showed arrogance and even contempt towards colonial officers and troops, and in turn the colonial officers and men were often jealous of the British; in fact, the King's uniform was not popular in America (6).

The historic claims of the British Crown and of the King's representatives to exercise authority in the Colonies were, in truth, not satisfactory. Even the undisputed right of the British Government to regulate and tax colonial trade could not be entirely justified. These claims and these practices might at any time give rise to contention and trouble; but up to this time tranquillity had not been seriously disturbed, because the British Government had acted on the whole with forbearance and moderation, and had not pushed its claims to their utmost limit (7).

But after the peace of 1763, George III. being now King and the great Pitt no longer in power, this forbearance and moderation gave place to more vigorous action. Measures were taken to check the

rich trade carried on by the colonists with the French and Spanish West Indies. The Navigation Acts were more strictly enforced, and a determined effort was made to put down smuggling.

The smugglers had hitherto successfully escaped by concealing their contraband goods in private houses: but now the authorities issued what were called Writs of Assistance: these were warrants which enabled the customs officers to search for smuggled goods in any place whatsoever. Not only were the traders very angry at this interference with their customary ways, but the people were touched in the sentiment which is expressed in the proverb, "The Englishman's house is his castle." Moreover, the officers of the army and navy were ordered to help in the suppression of smuggling. Accordingly officers wearing the King's uniform were put to the undignified and odious business of helping the gaugers to search for contraband goods, and to hunt down smugglers.

Thus there was already much discontent; there were mutterings against the King and his Government; and a few men were beginning to whisper the word *independence*, especially in Boston, when the British Parliament passed the measure which was the beginning of revolution. This was the famous Stamp Act passed in 1765.

This measure is closely connected with the great French war which had won Canada for the British. That war had been enormously costly; the fitting out of so many fleets and armies had cost great sums of money, and Great Britain was burdened with a heavy debt incurred in this victorious war. The war had been fought largely for the benefit of the Colonies, and the victories gained by the British had won for the colonists

security and the certain prospect of tranquil advance. English politicians therefore thought it just that the Colonies should pay something towards the cost of the war which had done so much for them.

Some of the Colonial Assemblies might, perhaps, have voluntarily voted a small contribution if they had been urged to do so by the Government. But the British Ministry, no longer guided by Pitt, instead of requesting aid from the Colonial Assemblies, determined to impose a tax upon the Colonies. If this tax had taken the form of a customs duty to be collected in the ports, possibly it would have passed without much notice, for the British Government had always imposed such taxes (8). But the Stamp Act imposed an internal tax to be paid everywhere throughout the Colonies; every legal document was to be written on paper bearing a stamp, to be purchased from the British Government; and the tax was levied by the very act of selling the stamped paper. It is not very easy to see in what way such an internal tax was worse than a customs duty levied for a similar purpose; but it must be remembered that there was already much discontent in the Colonies; opinion was excited, and people were jealously watching the action of the British Government. The Stamp Act was a novelty, and that was enough to excite opposition.

The Stamp Act was received throughout the Colonies with a burst of indignation. The people refused to buy the stamped paper—that is to say, they refused to pay the tax. The agents appointed by the British Government to sell the stamped paper were some of them burnt in effigy, others were compelled to resign, and some were subjected to rough handling and personal indignities. The popular disturbance was

hottest in Boston, where the mob committed disgraceful acts of violence, even burning the Governor's house. But in Virginia, a colony of more conservative and loyal type, the agitation was no less bitter. Nine of the Colonies sent deputies to a Congress at New York, which, while professing loyalty to the King, declared that there should be no taxation without representation. In the British Parliament Pitt raised his powerful voice on behalf of the colonists. Alarmed by the universal agitation, Parliament repealed the Stamp Act a year after it had been passed.

The repeal of the Stamp Act was accompanied by a Declaratory Act, which asserted "that the Parliament of Great Britain had a right to bind the Colonies in all cases whatsoever." But amidst the general joy in America this declaration was hardly noticed. The repeal of the Act was greeted with acclamation; bonfires were kindled, and the people who had vowed to buy no more English goods now bought English broadcloth to make new suits for the King's birthday.

But this apparent revival of loyalty was deceptive. The blunder of the British Ministry and the successful opposition of the Colonies were events which could not be undone. Things could never be restored to their former state, and the only chance of tranquillity lay in careful forbearance and studious conciliation on both sides. But such feelings were rare. The colonists were on the alert, and quick to resent the smallest grievance; and the turbulent mob of Boston was ready to supply a spark to any fuel (9). The British garrison of Boston had been reinforced, and the commander proposed to find quarters for the soldiers by billeting them in private houses, as had frequently been done before. But this time there was violent

resistance to the billeting of soldiers, and the proposal was withdrawn.

On the other hand, the British Parliament showed a curious ignorance and want of sympathy with colonial feeling; and any kind of steady policy was rendered impossible by the system of party government and by the frequent changes of Ministry (10). A year after the repeal of the Stamp Act the British Parliament imposed new taxes on the Colonies in the form of import duties to be levied in colonial ports on tea and certain other commodities. There was nothing new in such a tax, but colonial opinion was now roused, and was not prepared to admit any fresh taxation: and there was strong reason for this opposition, for it was believed that the object of the tax was to make the King independent of the colonial Assemblies by enabling him to pay British governors and officials without any vote from those Assemblies.

The new taxes were received with a fresh outburst of resistance, of agitation, and of mob violence. The small group of men in the Colonies who definitely aimed at independence now began to gather strength; arms were collected in Boston with a view to revolution, and the authority of the Governor of Massachusetts was set at nought. Meantime the British Parliament was talking about the treason existing in Massachusetts, and the King regarded as rebels all who resisted the taxes or opposed the authorities. The breach was constantly widening; the extreme leaders in Massachusetts seized every opportunity to embitter feelings; and they were much aided by the short-sighted arrogance and stubbornness of King George III., by the changes of Ministry in England, and by the difficulties of every Ministry, since any measure of conciliation

was always attacked by the Opposition in Parliament.

It is impossible to relate every step in the movement which led to Revolution; and some of the incidents were in themselves unimportant except in so far as they helped to swell the current, and provided revolutionary leaders with further pretexts and means of action (11). The tension and hostility between the townspeople of Boston and the British garrison were constantly increasing, and British soldiers could scarcely appear in the streets without being hooted, insulted, and hustled by the mob. At last, in 1770, a group of soldiers, goaded by this treatment, fired upon the mob, and killed three men. This "Boston Massacre," as it was called, was much used by the revolutionary leaders to inflame men's minds.

Yet events moved very slowly. From the "Boston Massacre" three years passed before the "Boston Tea-party," and five years before the skirmishes of Lexington and Bunker Hill which began the war. It was evident that there was no tyrannical oppression by the Government and no widespread desire for revolt or independence in the Colonies. But the revolutionary leaders were putting forth every effort and making use of every incident to precipitate the struggle.

The "Boston Tea-party," which is the most familiar event in this preliminary agitation, has just been mentioned, and must now be explained. In 1769, a year before the "Boston Massacre," the British Parliament had repealed all the obnoxious duties except a very small duty on tea. The colonists refused to pay this duty, and prevented any ships from landing tea in the ports. In 1773, six years after the duties had been

first imposed, some ships laden with tea put into Boston Harbour. The people of Boston, led by the Town Meeting which was gradually replacing the Government, refused to allow the tea to be landed. The Governor insisted that it must be landed. The question was settled by a group of about fifty citizens of Boston, who dressed themselves up as Indians, boarded the ships, and threw the tea into the sea.

In England this act was regarded as open rebellion. The King and Parliament at once proceeded to punish and check such defiance of authority. Acts were passed to close the port of Boston, and also to modify the government of Massachusetts in such a way as to destroy many of the privileges conferred by charter on that province. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of these measures of retaliation. Already, before fighting began, a kind of warfare had begun.

Just at this time (1774) an Act of Parliament, known as the Quebec Act, was passed to regulate the government of Canada (12). This had nothing to do directly with the Thirteen Colonies, and the British Parliament probably never thought that it could affect the colonial dispute. Yet one provision of the Quebec Act, fixing the boundaries of Canada, was bitterly resented in the Colonies; for the Act declared that the boundaries of Canada should follow the line of the Ohio, which had been claimed by the French before the late war. Canada was a conquered country still under military rule; the Roman Catholic religion and the French law were there recognised and practically established. Thus by the Quebec Act an attempt seemed to be made to prevent the westward expansion of the British Colonies by setting up behind them in the interior a

despotic and royal system of government, with an alien religion and an alien system of law.

The closing of Boston port and the abolition of the Massachusetts Constitution were promptly met by colonial efforts to retaliate. The people of Massachusetts and some other Colonies agreed to stop all trade with Great Britain, a measure which almost amounted to war (13). More than that, the first step was taken towards definite union between the Colonies and the formation of something like a revolutionary authority or government; for deputies from all the Colonies met at Philadelphia in a Continental Congress. Hitherto the agitation and the resistance had been chiefly the work of Massachusetts, but now the other Colonies were joining to support that province. This Congress of 1774 passed a resolution approving the resistance of Massachusetts. A Declaration of Rights was adopted, and an address was passed to the French Canadians urging them to join in the resistance to arbitrary power (14).

The following year, 1775, brought the first shock of fighting and bloodshed. The Colonists in Massachusetts were deliberately preparing for war, organizing companies of volunteers, and collecting arms and military stores. On April 19 Gage, the Governor and military commander of Massachusetts, sent out a body of 800 men to destroy some colonial stores at a village eighteen miles away. On the way the troops came to blows with some colonials, and on their return march they were attacked by colonial militia firing from behind rocks and fences. The British struggled back to Boston with heavy loss. This event is known as the Battle of Lexington.

The second American Congress, which met in 1775,

determined to raise 20,000 men, and appointed George Washington Commander-in-Chief. In July Washington took command of his army outside Boston (15).

The same month brought the skirmish which is generally reckoned as the first regular fight of the war. Gage, the British commander, sent a force from Boston to dislodge some colonial troops from Bunker Hill, an eminence which commanded the suburb of Charlestown. The British succeeded in this attempt, but met with vigorous resistance and suffered heavy loss; a serious and stubborn struggle was evidently opening.

War had now begun, and colonial forces were even marching against Canada; yet so far there were no clear and widespread designs of independence in America, and in England all hope of reconciliation had not been abandoned. Washington himself, upon assuming command, did not desire independence, but only the redress of grievances; and in the British Parliament efforts were made towards an agreement. But a great barrier to all such efforts lay in the stubbornness of the King of England, and the equal obstinacy of the extreme revolutionary leaders in America. Moreover, the very course of events and the necessity of the position seemed to forbid reconciliation. By the opening of hostilities the Government was overthrown in the Colonies wherever it was not supported by the King's troops. The Colonies thus found themselves without a government, and were compelled to assume their own government, and to form authorities which were independent of the King, and therefore republican. Again, men who were engaged in armed conflict against the King's troops could hardly continue to profess allegiance to the King. This view was strongly put forward in a pamphlet called "Common-sense,"

which declared that the pretence of continued loyalty was ludicrous, and urged that independence was necessary (16). These views gained ground; those who had been merely agitators for reform became republicans and separatists; and in 1776, after a year of armed conflict, Congress issued the famous Declaration of Independence, which threw all the blame of the conflict upon the King, and proclaimed that the Colonies were now independent States. Many colonists, however, preserved their allegiance, and fought on the side of the King in the war.

That war lasted for eight years, and cannot here be fully related. But some important events claim our attention. The Republicans or insurgents opened the struggle by a great attempt to invade and conquer Canada, a and Republican army actually took Montreal. But Quebec was successfully defended by the British Governor, General Carleton, who was not only a fine soldier, but a capable and generous ruler, who conciliated the French Canadians and kept them loyal. The invading Republicans met with no welcome from the inhabitants; they failed in their object, and were obliged to abandon Montreal and retire to the south (17). The British in turn attempted to invade the revolted Colonies from Canada, sending a strong army under General Burgoyne to follow the route of Lake Champlain. Burgoyne suffered heavy losses from the hardships of the march as well as from hostile attack; and at last his diminished troops were surrounded by overwhelming forces and compelled to surrender at Saratoga in October, 1777.

This great American victory was the turning-point of the war. It gave heartiness and determination to the colonists, who now threw themselves more vigor-

ously into the struggle, and refused to listen to any British offers of conciliation. But the victory had still more important results, since it won for the Republicans the open alliance of France. The French Government had already favoured the Americans; money and arms had been sent to them from France, and many French officers had served as volunteers with the republican forces. Among these was Lafayette, the friend of Washington. But now, after the victory of Saratoga, the French Government made a formal alliance with the United States, joining them in war against Great Britain (1778). A year later Spain joined this alliance, and thus the Americans were supported by the combined fleets of these two maritime Powers. Holland next went to war with Great Britain, while Russia and Sweden formed an armed league to protect the rights of neutrals, not, indeed, in active hostility to Great Britain, but nevertheless throwing the weight of their influence against her.

Great Britain was no longer engaged merely in an attempt to suppress a revolt, but was involved in a world-wide struggle against a ring of powerful enemies. Hitherto the English people had not been vigorously and heartily concerned in the American War; people did not understand its causes, and did not feel it to be a national war. It was rather an attempt made by the King to suppress his revolted subjects than an effort for victory made by the British people. But now the struggle assumed a new aspect. The vigour and spirit of the British people went out to cope with this league of Western Europe joined to the American Colonies. But against so great a coalition victory could not be achieved at every point, and Washington's opportunity had come at last.

So far the American War had not been brilliant or glorious to either side (19). But dignity and personal interest are added to the American part of the struggle by one great figure, the figure of George Washington. Through these years of constant trial and difficulty he proved himself not only an admirable soldier and commander, but a truly great statesman, organizer, and leader, striving on with calm and unbending determination through the endless troubles of carelessness, indifference, corruption, disunion, and petty quarrels. His object was clear—victory and national independence, and he was determined to reach that goal, and to compel those who were less clear-sighted and single-hearted than himself to follow him.

As we have already seen, there was much to be said on both sides with regard to abstract rights. Opinion was divided among the colonists themselves, many of whom fought throughout for King George. There were differences of opinion even in England, where many eminent men believed that the colonists were contending for genuine rights, or, at all events, for reasonable claims. Thus no one to-day need think himself bound to say concerning this civil war, "This side was right," or "That side was wrong." But there is another question which to the historian is greater and more important, "Which side was contending for the more worthy ends, and which side was likely to make the better use of victory?" We may be aided in answering this question by contrasting the leaders on the two sides. The leader of revolt was George Washington; the leader of repression was King George III. (20). There can be little doubt which of these two men was more worthy to be the leader of a nation, and to guide the destinies of the North

American Continent. The subject of these lectures is the expansion of the British beyond the seas, and in following that subject we must not forget that Washington, the chief founder of a new nation and a new empire, was also an Englishman, the greatest Englishman born in America

The alliance of France and Spain brought the final scene in the struggle. A British army under Lord Cornwallis was operating in Virginia and North Carolina, while Washington was moving against it from the north. The English base was the sea, or, rather, was England itself; and to them it was essential to keep open the sea communication, by which alone they could obtain reinforcements and supplies. Upon the British fleet on the American coast depended not only the success, but even the safety, of Cornwallis and his men. In August, 1781, a British fleet was defeated outside Chesapeake Bay by the French fleet. Cornwallis found himself isolated in a hostile country, and cut off from all possibility of aid (21). Meantime the French and Spanish ships, having won command of the sea, sailed undisturbed up and down Chesapeake Bay, conveying men and arms for the Republicans, in order to attack Cornwallis. The British commander, cut off from all aid, and hopelessly outnumbered, surrendered in October, 1781, at Yorktown, not far from the spot where the first British Colony had been founded at Jamestown 175 years earlier.

The victory of the French ships, followed by the surrender of Yorktown, closed the struggle (22).

By the Peace of Paris, made two years later, the independence of the United States was recognised by Great Britain. From that time the Stars and Stripes replaced the British flag in the thirteen Colonies (23).

But although defeated in America, Great Britain emerged not ignominiously from the world-wide struggle in which she had been engaged. One of the most famous achievements in the history of war is the successful defence of Gibraltar by Lord Heathfield against a long siege of three years, and against repeated assault; and the last year of the war was also marked by a great naval victory won by Rodney over the French in the West Indies (24). Although the American Colonies were lost, Great Britain was not humbled; and she was able to make peace on terms which did not much affect her position in other parts of the world.

Outline of Rise of the New Empire

Yet at the time the story of British colonial expansion appeared to be closed. So thought our great-grandfathers then (25). To-day we know better. Only the first chapter of our Imperial history was closed. After the independence of the United States a second chapter opens, which is fully as great as the first. In fact, so far we have traced in these six lectures only the ancient history of the Empire. The modern history, which begins at this point, embraces the rise of a New Empire far more extensive than the first, and promising at least equal greatness in the future. The building up of this New Empire is in the main the work of the nineteenth century, but it begins immediately after the disruption which we have just witnessed. The rise of that New Empire requires another course of lectures, which will take us down to present times, and introduce us to many familiar scenes and names. But a brief sketch of this great modern movement of

Imperial expansion must be given here (26). Thus we shall close this first introductory course of lectures, not with the story of blunders and disasters, but with the story of great achievement and of bright promise.

The recognition of independence of the Thirteen Colonies, so far from closing the story of British colonization, at once opened a new phase of British colonization in North America itself. We have seen that among the colonists there were many loyalists, who fought on the side of the King in the War of Independence. At the close of the war these men found themselves regarded as strangers and enemies in their own country; they were suspected and disliked by their neighbours. Many of them had lost all that they possessed, and as yet there was no government in the United States which could win justice for them (27). The British Parliament therefore voted money for their relief, and lands were also granted to them in Canada. Thus at once, when the United States became independent, a considerable body of loyal colonists crossed the frontier and settled in Canada.

They called themselves by the proud title of United Empire Loyalists, because they had sacrificed so much in loyally fighting for the unity of the Empire. Some of them settled in New Brunswick, but most of them found homes to the west of the province of Quebec, in the province of Ontario, which now came into existence. This migration of the United Empire Loyalists from the United States into Ontario is the real beginning of British population in Canada; for, although Canada had been in British hands for twenty years, the Canadian population was still mainly French, and chiefly confined to the old French province of Quebec. But now to the west of Quebec

or French Canada there sprang up a British province inhabited by English colonists. Thus British Canada has a worthy origin. This migration of the United Empire Loyalists is a striking and a noble incident in the history of the Empire. It is also the first step in that movement of emigration and exploration which in the course of 120 years has drawn a line of British provinces from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and has created the federal Dominion of Canada, a second great nation of British origin in North America, but a nation still enclosed in the wide circle of the British Empire.

Another advance in a far-distant region followed the separation of the American Colonies (28). Hitherto English convicts had been transported to Virginia and Carolina. This was now no longer possible, and accordingly a fresh field for transportation was sought. The voyages of Captain Cook had lately drawn attention to the east coast of Australia, or New Holland, as it was then called ; and four years after the recognition of American independence a party of convicts was sent under a British Governor to that coast (29). The Governor established his little settlement on the spot where now stands the great town of Sydney. This was the origin of the Colony of New South Wales (30), and the first step in the movement which has since formed seven Colonies or States in Australia and New Zealand.

But the rise of the New Empire is especially connected with the long wars between Great Britain and France, which lasted, with short intervals, from 1793 to 1815. In these wars Great Britain was fighting first against the French Republic, and then against the Emperor Napoleon (31). In fact, Napoleon might

almost be called, in an upside-down sort of way, the chief founder of this later Empire ; for it was the failure of his vast Imperial plans which led to British advance everywhere. Napoleon designed a great French Empire in the East, and with that object he invaded Egypt, and stirred up native wars against the British in India (32). But this Eastern plan was foiled, chiefly by the victory of Nelson in the Battle of the Nile ; and the Indian wars led to a great extension and consolidation of British dominion in India (33). It was in these wars that Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, first won great distinction. At their close the British Empire in India was firmly established. It was in connection with these Eastern struggles that two interesting islands were acquired by the British—Malta, now a fortress and naval station in the Mediterranean, and the rich tropical island of Mauritius in the Indian Ocean.

The French wars also delivered up into the hands of the British almost all the Dutch possessions in all parts of the world. Holland at the close of the eighteenth century possessed an extensive and widely-scattered Empire. But Holland early in the war was drawn under French influence, and became almost like a province of France (34). Consequently the British Government occupied the Dutch possessions, in order to prevent them from falling into the power of France. Thus it was that Great Britain acquired Ceylon, part of Guiana, and also Cape Colony. There had been a small Dutch Colony at the Cape, which now passed into British hands ; and this is the beginning of British Empire in South Africa (35).

The work of the nineteenth century differs from all that went before in one point, namely, in the great

expansion which has taken place in the Southern Hemisphere, in two continents—Africa and Australia; but no less remarkable has been the growth of Canada (36).

These three are colonial movements, in Canada, in South Africa, and in Australasia. But the advance of Imperial dominion, apart from the Colonies, has kept pace with these colonial movements. This imperial work has been most active in two directions—first, in the completion of a system of government for India; and secondly in the organization of Egypt and the opening up of tropical Africa.

But the vast work of the nineteenth century lies outside the present course; it will be treated in another set of lectures. For the present we can only glance at the stupendous work which has been achieved. It will be the task of the coming generation to maintain, and, if possible, to improve, the work which has been done by those who went before (37).

This outline of the early history of the Empire may be closed with pictures of two famous national monuments—pictures which recall the great achievements of the past. One of these is Nelson's flagship, the *Victory*, which is still anchored in Portsmouth Harbour (38). The other is the interior of Westminster Abbey, the ancient sanctuary which contains the tombs of many men who have done their part in the history of Great Britain and of the British Empire.

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In a book of this kind it would be impossible and inappropriate to attempt to give a full bibliography of the history of the Empire. But a short list of books, moderate in size and price, is here given, which may help the reader to obtain a comprehensive view of that history. The selection of books must be in some degree arbitrary, and any short list is obviously open to criticism. It is not pretended that this list is the best possible, or that other books could not be substituted for some of these. It is merely hoped that the list may be practically useful to readers having only moderate leisure or means for study.

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